To explain these things properly requires a sense of the conditions which have produced them, an appreciation of the historical depth of the culture. In some areas, one perhaps might neglect history, relying on the interesting present to furnish the correct details. Such an approach would be fatal in any study of this part of the world, and neglect of history is responsible for the fatuous doctrine of the "unchanging East." While this is an investigation of contemporary life, indeed that is the purpose of the program under which the study was made, I have felt impelled to point out historical events and conditions which have brought the culture to its present state, not with any assurance that this has been adequately done, but at least to make clear that these historical problems exist, and that the contemporary culture must be seen as the end product of its historical antecedents, including the hints that can be collected of the modifications of the environment by human agency. The present geography of the island is to be seen, for example, not as something given and unchanging. The forested north and the deforested south are in all probability the direct result of the history of human settlement. 121

An approach of this type, I felt, could best be served by comparative study. Concentration on one village would have resulted in a deeper understanding of the way of life in that village and closer friendships with the villagers, and these advantages cannot be sensibly minimized. The selection of two or three villages might offset this disadvantage and offer some compensations of its own. One of these was comparison, even though it cannot be assumed that merely because three villages instead of one have been studied that a more valid interpretation of the whole culture has been obtained. Even in this small island, each "typical" village seems to grow less and less so as one learns more of the details. But at least the three situations can provide insight into three basically similar but different ways of living. If this is true on an island barely sixty miles long and eighteen miles wide at its widest point, how great this diversity must be in China, Japan, and Korea!

Upon arriving in Okinawa, I spent the first few days talking with officials who had, in the course of their duties, travelled widely throughout the island. From them I was able to obtain an idea of the different types of villages, those like Oku in the north that were exceptional, those that had come under direct American influence due to proximity to civil and military installations, and those that departed from the pattern of agricultural life. With these guides in mind, I determined to select one village whose economy was based on agriculture and this meant primarily the growing of rice, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and soybeans. The number of villages that could meet this broad criterion was large, and it did not seem advisable in view of the shortness of the assignment to spend too much time in selecting a village, because the criteria of what was typical might be just as obscure at the conclusion as at the beginning. 121 184 [241]

Accordingly, I spent a day or so travelling in the general area south of the Chinen peninsula in the townships of Tamagusuku and Gushichan. These were close to Naha, and yet distant from the main centers of American influence. I was concerned here to select a village which would reflect as 114 181 184

114 121 184 much as possible the customary ways of doing things, and though one could not hope for an unchanging or an isolated village, one could find a village relatively so, even if, as was the case with all the villages, they had felt the effects of the deadly campaign for Okinawa.

On one of these trips, I talked with the headman of the village of Hanashiro and then with the officials in the nearby village office of Oushichan, and concluded on the basis of what I saw of the agriculture and the conditions described by these officials, that this small village would be a satisfactory selection. In the beginning, an epidemic of encephalitis made it wise to be away from the village at night and for [164] the first month the investigations were confined to daytime work. This was a serious handicap which I tried to overcome later in the tour by living in the village.

While working in Hanashiro, I had frequent occasion to pass the villages of Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku, and I was impressed with the opportunity to study the life of a village in which agriculture [226] did not predominate, and in which the chief emphasis was on fishing and [324] stonecutting. I therefore decided to include the fishing village, and took up residence there late in August 1951, making frequent trips on the side to Hanashiro.

As interest and awareness increased, I became convinced that another type of village should be added to the agricultural and fishing selections. It should be one in the northern forested area (the Kunigami region). [361] After discussing this with American and Okinawan forestry officials, I followed their suggestion and lived in the village of Matsuda in Ginoza township. It proved to be a good choice, with the possible reservation that Matsuda is somewhat of a model village whose conditions might be better than the average.

The villages needed to be small enough for one man to study. And they proved to be admirable communities for realizing my original intention of showing similarities and contrasts in an agricultural village, a fishing village, and a village in a forest setting.

121 The results do not constitute a complete ethnography of each of the villages. Such was not my intention, and this could not have been done in the time available. The material has been organized around four central [128] subjects: (1) the nature of the family system and its influence through inheritance on land tenure and land use, (2) ways of life as illustrated in the studies of the agricultural, fishing-stonecutting, and forest communities, (3) daily family life as a concrete expression of the family system, and (4) wider community relationships, including political and cooperative organizations, education, and religion.

The basic theme is that a fruitful approach to the study of modern cultures lies in the borderland area between the social and the natural sciences, and that, in the case of these Okinawan villages, the study [311] would take the form of discovering in what ways the people are using their natural environment and the manner in which the culture has changed and

altered that environment to its own uses. I hope that this will result in a broader and a deeper understanding of the manner in which an old culture, subject to frequent changes, with a long history of settlement, has, through its social organization, used and is using its chief resources, the cultivated land, the fish in the seas, the deep stones imbedded in its earth, its forests, and its waters. 121 311

There were certain obstacles in carrying out this plan. As everyone knows who has attempted such tasks, after the first few days the apparent simplicities of village life vanish before one's eyes, and he is left with a mass of observations whose ramifications lead in every direction. There is simply no limit to the courses of inquiry which these "simple" villages open up. 121

There was the problem of distinguishing between what was customary and carried on for this reason and what was of basic living importance in the culture. This difficulty disappears for those who believe that every trait has some significance if it has survived, but this neglects the point that many beliefs and customs belong to segments of a population. To one group what may be done as a matter of form may be of close personal importance to another. Both points are significant, for to do what one is expected to do, even if a pure form, is in itself a fact of importance. This applies especially to religious observances and anniversaries in honor of the dead. In some cases, they seemed perfunctorily performed, particularly among the young and the better educated. The survival of certain beliefs is due to their preservation by segments of the population, and women seem to be the chief carriers of the devotional and religious tradition. Real differences, too, seem to lie in age groups, with the dividing line at about fifty-five to sixty years. Many under this age have little understanding of the history or traditional culture. The old, and particularly the old women, have carried on. 121 183 184 [562] [561]

Observation in itself is deceptive. Even the grasses, shrubs, and pine trees on the hillsides seem to be a more or less permanent part of the natural environment. Yet these were greatly changed during the war and in local areas grasses have succeeded to places formerly occupied by the pines. 121

The information was obtained in the following manner. (1) Personal conversations in the Japanese language with residents of the villages. Much of the information was secured by accompanying people to their work, attending their parties, visiting shops, rice and sugar mills, and asking questions about the things seen. (2) Direct personal observation, supplemented by conversations to check the accuracy and the significance of these observations. (3) Information gathered from village land records, statistics, land maps, and family registers. Later there was considerable difficulty in securing comparability in the statistics. For this reason the attempt to present quantitative data was in some cases abandoned in favor of a general qualitative description. (4) General discussions with the personnel of the Civil Affairs Administration and with Okinawans. (5) Personal impressions, but these have been included only when they are based on repeated observation. (6) In the historical and general 12 127

was that large numbers of refugees from the south were sent to the northern area. The destruction of the heavily populated south and central areas, with their many villages, gave new prominence to the northern district whose villages, much less damaged and less densely populated, were now in the best preserved part of the island. The roles of the two regions had, in a sense, been reversed. The northern region was no longer a rustic hinterland.

In 1945, the Okinawans came under the direct military government of the Americans, and from these early beginnings, which in the heat of conflict were scarcely more than compounds for the relief and care of refugees, there has evolved the extensive present civil administration and the native government.

The Americans have thus been the most recent arrivals on an island with a long history of inertia and change. The results of this last, and probably greatest intrusion into the culture of Okinawa cannot yet be predicted. This cultural influence is a stronger, certainly a much different one, than the great changes which came about when the Japanese set on their course to make over Ryukyuan, especially Okinawan life.

The war years, with conscription and service in the Japanese army in other parts of the empire, the disruption and deaths in the war, were effective in preventing the handing down of the traditional culture from one generation to another. This may mean a more ready receptivity to newer influences. It will be clear in the pages that follow that many aspects of the culture, familiar to the old, are now unknown to the young.

Whether the American influence will be a conservative one, in the sense that the fundamental attitudes and framework of the culture as it existed before the war, will be retained, or whether it will be a revolutionary intrusion remains to be seen. Will, for example, the individualism of the American culture tend to break down the structure of the family system? Or will American influences assert themselves within the framework of the culture, and will the flexible family system absorb only surface influences, leaving the basic culture as it is?

On a preceding page, the point was made that in the earlier periods there probably was not a homogeneous Okinawan culture, that its centers, Naha and Shuri, were under strong contemporary Chinese and Japanese influences, and that in the rural areas an older culture existed relatively unmolested. This gap was narrowed after the island became the seat of a province of the Japanese empire, through such measures as the new land law and the introduction of mass education, direct interferences were made in the traditional life of the rural areas.

In my opinion, the American influence so far has been to close this gap even more, but for different reasons. The Americans have made no direct interferences in the lives of the villages, except in those cases

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

in which villages have been moved and land preempted for military purposes. The devastation of the war, the mixing of the people, their dispersion as refugees throughout the island prepared the way for greater uniformity. Since the war's end, increased mobility, ease of transportation, the widening of the roads have done much to further obliterate sectional differences in this small island, scarcely sixty miles long.

During historical times, and probably during times now lost to an undocumented past, this island, far from being isolated, has been influenced strongly by other cultures. From the examples which have been given, one can at least gain an intimation of the stability and change that have characterized its experience, and some insight, no matter how slight, into the historical depth of a culture with which the Americans, in one form or another, and for some time to come, will be associated.

traditional attitudes that the north was a culturally rude and physically inhospitable place. The highway which now goes through the center of the main part of the village is a good, hard surfaced, dirt road, widened since the war. A lively traffic of trucks and buses and the three wheeled cycles contrasts with the narrow pre-war roads, traces and abandoned sections of which can still be seen. The frequent buses supply transportation to the larger cities and towns of the island: to Nago across the island and slightly to the north, to Ishikawa on the south, and to distant Naha, about 31 miles away.

Matsuda, unlike the southern villages, was not destroyed by the war. There were some air raids, some bombing out of the houses, but nothing like the destruction in the main areas of conflict. Early in the Okinawa campaign, the north was cut off and isolated and the struggle for the island took place in central and southern Okinawa. As a consequence, many of the old houses, sturdily built with tile roofs, have been preserved. Numerous refugees from the south gathered in this area during and after the campaign. In nearby Ginoza (Jinuza) village, slightly over a mile to the southwest, also on Highway 13, the Americans operated a hospital for Okinawan refugees. It is still in use. This relative lack of war destruction in the northern villages has, to a degree, reversed the roles of the north and the south. The opening up of the north, its prosperity, the survival of many of its old homes, give the impression of comfort and well being conspicuously lacking in most of the makeshift villages of the south.

The descriptions of these three villages perhaps make clear the diversity that can be expected among Okinawan settlements. Hanashiro, the small village cluster, with adjoining rice fields on the valley floor, its other crops on the terraced slopes, is the most typical. Minatogawa, the fishing village in an impoverished countryside of stony or shallow soil, is dependent on the seas and its catch for its livelihood and the wherewithal to buy the foods which cannot be grown in sufficient abundance. Matsuda, a collection of small settlements, scattered here and there from the coast inland, with its large preserve of community forest, is an example of agriculture in a forest setting, and of the use of the forest in daily living. This by no means exhausts the diversity. The village of Oku to the north, with its tea, its rice, its fences for wild boar protection, its cycads planted on the hillsides to prevent erosion, is still another example. But our task here is not to catalogue all diversity, but to indicate that it exists and to a much greater degree than would appear to superficial observation.

These rooms, opening on the front of the house along the corridor, do not run the full length of the house. A fourth, a back room, running across the back part may open on to the kitchen. Sometimes this room is only roughly finished and used for storage or sleeping purposes or both. A grandmother often takes the grandchildren (other than the infant) to bed with her in this room. 342 [353] [513]

The kitchen is set off from the rest of the house by being on a lower level, perhaps one step. The kitchen usually has a hard dirt floor. Occasionally it is cemented. Sometimes it has a chimney, sometimes a hole in the side of the wall, which the curious smoke rejects in favor of a leisurely diffusion throughout the other rooms of the house. The kitchen is not part of the house in the sense that the other rooms are. The shoes are not removed when entering it. The kitchen opens out on to a stone or dirt path. Women frequently still eat in the kitchen because of its convenience and the need of going in and out to get water, or to wash vegetables, or to get food from the shed during the preparation of a meal. [576] [264]

The stove is basically an open hearth with a hole at the top for the cooking pan. There is also a hole directly below this into which the fuel can be placed. More elaborate stoves may have three tiers: one for the cooking, one for putting the fuel in, the lower for the ashes. The most simple, in the very poorest houses, are little more than a circular group of stones laid on the ground built up so that a pan can be placed on top. The most elaborate, made of stone, might run across the width of the kitchen and have several openings. Fuel, such as odd branches, sticks of firewood brought from the northern (Kunigami) region, crushed and dried sugar cane, or miscanthus grass of varying length is put part way into the fire and pushed further in as the ends are burned off. 354 [372]

The all stone house is smaller than the wooden house. It invariably has a tile roof, for those able to afford the stone can also buy the tile. The stone blocks used in house construction are usually about nine feet by one foot on the edge.[6] The stones used as posts are buried two feet in the ground leaving seven feet for the upright. These blocks, called ishibashida when used for house construction, have the same width and breadth; they can be cut to any desired length to even off the sides. The stones are layed like bricks with mortar to form the walls of the house. The all stone house is not common, and is usually seen in the south, where the stone is quarried, in Minatogawa, and in adjacent villages. These houses are more modern, and often bathing facilities are built in. The stone house has the advantage of being cool in summer, warm in winter. 342 [333] [184] [515]

Finally, there are the simple structures, resembling shacks or shanties more than houses. These are, as one would expect, more frequent in the areas of the war's operations. There are three main varieties, though the combinations are numerous: (1) the all grass house, now uncommon. The sides of this wattled house are usually of [362]

6 Actually they are 9 x 1 x 1 shaku. A shaku is 0.994 feet.

an interwoven diagonal weave of miscanthus whose hollow stalks at maturity are strong but brittle, resembling in appearance a very small piece of bamboo. (2) The house with a simple thatch roof with walls of various sized rocks or small pebbles cemented together with mud taken from the yard, and (3) a thatch roof house whose frame is built with small rough hewn poles, over which a thin cheap pine siding is nailed. The construction of this house will be described in some detail below because, with the exception of the modern pine siding to replace the straw or diagonal weave, it is, according to the Okinawans, the oldest type of native rural house. 342

The house must have heat during the winter. The kitchen hearth is not used for this purpose. The kitchen fires are allowed to die down and are only started at meal times. It would be too expensive or wasteful of gathered fuel to do otherwise. Room heat is provided by a brazier (hibachi in Japanese). This may be a large square box with an inset lined with metal in which ashes and charcoal are placed. Some winter cooking may be done here. The hibachi may also be a large earthenware pot in which coals of charcoal are placed. 354 [415]

In some old homes, another device suitable both for heating and cooking, can still be seen. This was observed in Matsuda, but not in the southern villages. This is also a sort of hearth (jiru in Japanese). The jiru consists of a hanging bamboo pole one end of which is secured by a rope tied to a lattice in the ceiling. On the other end of the pole, about three feet long, there is an iron hook with another device, like an arm bent at the elbow, allowing the height of the hook above the fire to be adjusted. The handle of the pot is placed on this hook and the pot hangs at any desired distance over a bed of coals and ashes. This hearth is not in the kitchen, but at one corner of the dining room, usually where the two open rooms adjoin. The jiru is rare in the villages at the present time. It is from this device that the former practice of a mother and a new born infant "roasting" themselves takes its name; both the mother and the new born child were exposed, in a closed room, to heat from the jiru or from a brazier, even in the intensest heat of summer.[7] [184] [852]

4

Building a Simple House

The following description is based on observations made of the construction of a simple house in Hinatogawa. The steps are given in some detail because it was said that this house was being constructed in the manner of the traditional rural Okinawan house. 342

Rough hewn poles were used. The traditional method of putting on

7 This will be discussed in Chapter 13 on family life in the section on the rearing of children.

Co-operation often takes the form of a division of labor. In building an elaborate permanent house with cement foundations, siding, plank flooring and a tile roof, greater skills than the handyman techniques of a smaller house are required. In the building of a house, men with special skills, such as a carpenter, a cement mixer, a stonecutter, or a mason participate; others bring lumber and wood from the mountains, as in Matsuda, or lay the grass on the tile roof. In some cases, all the labor may be donated; in others, the carpenter, the cement mixer, the stonecutter may be hired, with helper's work done by volunteers. In simpler construction, the carpentry may be done by anyone who has this secondary skill but is primarily a farmer or a fisherman. People who have those skills are said to have half and half occupations (hannohangyō in Japanese).

7

Housebuilding Ceremonies

In building, a distinction is made between a temporary and a permanent house. A temporary house may be built following a typhoon or a fire, or it may be constructed for a poor man and in fact be a permanent house for the family, the good house to come being more an aspiration than an early reality. The marks of a permanent house are construction with beams, instead of poles, good siding, a good roof, now mostly of tile, a design based on mat size, and a cemented kitchen. Housebuilding ceremonies and celebrations apply only to the permanent house.

Ceremonies or observances during stages in the building of a house differ from place to place and among people in the same village. In Matsuda before the house is started, the owner, his friends, and neighbors gather and offer a prayer that the house be a good and a happy one. Before construction, and once each year following completion, rice cakes (mochi in Japanese) and sake are placed in each of the four corners of the house site. Three rice cakes are put on the smallest of three saucers which fit into one another. Two of these saucer sets with the rice cakes, together with a sake bottle and a small cup are placed on a tray. The east, north, west, and south corners are visited in that order. Sake is poured from the flask to a small cup. There is a short prayer. A piece of white paper, attached to a stick of dwarf bamboo (Yanbaru take) about one foot long is burned. The sake is poured over the embers. The top rice cake is placed on the corner; the other two remain on the small plate. Prayers are offered for protection against the deadly snake (habu). The rice cake is then picked up. On the next corner, the ceremony is repeated.

When the ridge pole is put up, the carpenter prays that there will be no injuries. Observances at the raising of the roof (muneage in Okinawan) seem to be universal in the villages. Three parcels, one of salt, one of bean paste, and one of charcoal are wrapped in a leaf--any will do--and these are tied with a string and suspended from the inner side of the crossbeam or from the ridge pole. There are no prayers at this time.

fortune teller. The purpose of this visit is to discover who would be a good adopting parent. The fortune teller advises the parents to select a person born under the same year sign as the child. These year signs roughly correspond to the signs of the zodiac. The twelve signs with their Japanese equivalents are: rat (ne), ox (ushi), tiger (tora), hare or rabbit (u), dragon (tatsu), snake (mi), horse (uma), sheep hitsuji), monkey (saru), bird (tori), dog (inu), and hog or boar (i). The year 1951 was the year of the hare; 1952 is the year of the dragon (tatsudoki).

The adopting or "growing up" parent is older, in multiples of 12, than the child. After consulting almanacs and other materials, the fortune teller advises the parents to find a person in the village born under the same year sign as the child. Prospective adopting parents are then sought out and the matter is discussed with them. Both parents may do this, but most often the discussions are carried on by the mother. When the selection is made, the child is "given" to the adopting parent, and there are prayers before the Buddhist god shelf in the home of the adopting parent.

Actually the child continues to live with its own parents, but makes frequent visits to the home of the adopting parent. There are no stated intervals at which these visits are made, except for New Years and O-Bon. The adopting parent may on these visits give food and presents to the child.

The arrangement thus seems to be a form of sponsorship and guardianship without special responsibilities on the part of the adopting parent, to bring good health and long life to the child. It has only slight resemblances to the godfather and godmother in Christian countries who sponsor a child at his baptism and theoretically at least undertake to be responsible for his Christian training. But the sponsorship and guardianship features are somewhat similar.

Adoption of this type may be done in Okinawa by either sex. Generally old women are the favorites and they may have many such adopted children. But old or older men may also assume this obligation. This form of "growing up" adoption existed in all the villages studied in substantially the same form.

8

The Household Order Naming System

Families in a village have, in addition to their own surnames, secondary names by which individual families are known. This secondary naming system is a device to distinguish related families with the same surname from one another.

The secondary naming system is known as "the household order," or Yagō in Japanese. To introduce this discussion, it might be well to

seem to be either supplementary names or household order names held during one's lifetime only, but in some instances became hereditary. Household order names taken from places seem to have become hereditary, if present lists of these names are fair indications. Even today if an American should settle in a village in Okinawa, he would probably be given a household order name and be known by this name outside the circle of friends and acquaintances who knew his surname. Such a house name would be something like Amerikaya, House of America. Ya means house or abode. The American's presence would be well known; his name, too difficult to pronounce and to remember, would be forgotten even if ever learned, and he would be the house of the man from America.

Each family in a village has this secondary name whether it is in the main or a branch family line. In Hinatogawa, some exceptions were found to this, but it is not quite clear what interpretation to put upon them. In this village there were many individuals--mostly single persons living by themselves--who did not have a household order name. Of the 213 households, 20 either did not have such a secondary name, or it was not known to them nor to the residents of Hinatogawa. Of these at least 8 were females.

Household order names do not appear in the official family registers (koseki) maintained in the village office (yakuba). Historically, the household order name apparently preceded the giving of first and surnames. In villages the mass of people were not known by their full names. They were designated in the fashion already described. Even up to the beginning of the war, often only important and conspicuous people, such as officials and school teachers, were known by their given and surnames (seimei); the rest were known by their household order name.

Of all the villages studied, the household order name seemed to be of greatest living importance in Hanashiro. This naming system is used only in contacts within the village. In contacts with the outside, in schools, and in official dealings, a person's full name is used. Young children, from about ten on, know families by their household order name, and one can inquire for a family by asking either for the surname or the household order name. There were instances in all villages, confined however to the old, of people knowing individuals only by their household order name. According to informants here, a person's household order name is still better known than the given and the surname. Residents are often called for village, community, and official duties by their secondary family names. Here the double naming system, one for contacts within the village, the other for the outside is still strong.

A similar situation existed in Hinatogawa. The household order system here might be expected to persist longer, at least for use within the village because of the high frequency of a few surnames. The same ability of young children to know household order names of

551 592 184 614 613 their own and of other families was also noticeable.[6] Often the two were used interchangeably. From an individual point of view, and this is true of all the villages, the household order name is still important because it is an indication of relationships to dead relatives whose names are on the family tablets, and to relationships, at least in general, to other families of the same main family in the village or in other villages and towns.

[178] In Matsuda, the household order naming system seems to be dying out more rapidly than in the other communities. Children here did not know the secondary names so well, and some young people did not know their own. As in Hanashiro, up to the beginning of the war, families were called together for village duties by their household order name, but this practice has been abandoned since the war. Given and surnames are now used. The household order name is still occasionally used on letters to indicate the exact person desired, another indication of the distinctions needed in the confusion of identical surnames.

[178] It is probable that the household order naming system will decline in importance because the growth and universality of education and the constant need for using given and surnames have weakened the hold of the old. As the present old people die off, many of whom know the household order name only, every segment of the population will be accustomed to the use of given and surnames.

9

Conclusion

602 The family system binds one generation to another, and, even more, gives unity to the past, present, and future of the family. It involves a well defined system of rights and obligations. It is a conservative institution in which the rights of individuals are subordinated to the welfare of the group.

602 171 The conservative nature of the family system in other Oriental cultures, especially when combined, as in old China with a Confucian ethic and ancestor worship, has often been emphasized. But Confucianism, ancestor worship, and the family system are three different things.

6 I tested this in all communities by asking for directions to family houses using the family's yagō. Its present vitality is shown by the fact that in Hanashiro a native of the village and a member of the township council was able to list all the 121 yagō's without hesitation. The clerk of Hinatogawa village did the same. There was not an opportunity of getting the detailed lists of the Matsuda household order names, but samplings were made.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

The Old Land Allotment System

175
423
[177]

Okinawa became part of a province of Japan in 1879 and in the late of 1899-1903 fundamental changes were introduced in the land law. Present land use and tenure is a result of (1) the family system with the original influence from China, with Japanese and Okinawan modifications, and (2) the Japanese system of inheritance, as outlined in the old civil code.

Prior to the Japanese reforms of 1899-1903, which introduced private ownership and private disposition of land, arable land in Okinawa was communally owned by a village and periodically redistributed to villagers for their use. This was known as the allotment system (jiwari-seido).

Until 1899, the arable land was owned by the village. Peasants had the right of cultivation, but not of ownership. Land was redistributed by village elders at stated intervals. These apparently varied among villages, as intervals of two, four, and ten years for the periodic redistribution have been mentioned by old men who, as youths, lived under the old allotment system. In the Gushichan area, according to one old man, this redistribution took place every ten years. It was found that there was much more awareness of the old land allotment system in the northern village of Matsuda than in the southern villages studied. [184]

In each redistribution, every living member of the family, from the newest born infant to the oldest person, was given a share. Apparently there were also local variations in determining each share. In the Gushichan area, according to the same old man, allotments were made according to the strength and competence of individuals. A distinction was made between a full grown male and a woman or a child, and there were differentials between the rich and the poor. The head of the house in practice received and controlled the shares of his family. There are no parallel data for Matsuda on this point. At each redistribution, additions or deductions in shares were made for births or deaths, though there is some doubt that this practice was universal. Matsuda old men mentioned this, and the Gushichan informants said the practice was not followed here; presumably a family share prevailed.[1] [184]

[Text Continues Top of P. 136--analyst]

1 This discussion is confined to the two agricultural areas studied. Conditions apparently were the same for a whole township; since the areas are now roughly the same as they were, Hanashiro as part of the Gushichan township would have the same conditions. No information was available in the fishing village of Hinatogawa. The very old here had only a vague memory of the old system. "Until 1899-1903, when the Land Reform Law was enacted, land was owned communally by the village, which divided the land among peasants at regular (contd. on next page)

175
423
311

place. Then, as now, paddy and dry crop land might lie together, depending upon local factors. In the periodic redistribution, each family received shares of each in non-contiguous fragmented parcels. In the nature of things, they received small shares of the excellent, moderate shares of the good, and large holdings in poor land.

175
311
[177]

The old classification of lands was simple and did not go beyond three general divisions of good, fair, and poor. Apparently the Japanese after 1879 introduced more refinements and increased the number of classifications to six. Land classification, then as now, was empirical. It was based on observation, local knowledge of present and past yields, and known dangers to the land. It was not based on scientific knowledge of the soils, nor is it today.

[242]

175
241
[136]
[417]

Several dangers to land and crops were considered: (1) the danger of the wild boar (inoshishi). These reddish brown wild boars have disappeared from large parts of Okinawa, though occasionally one is seen in the northern forest. The boars destroyed crops by night feeding. Remnants of old fences can still be seen in the area around Matsuda. In Oku, in the extreme north, fences are still used and many can be seen along the hillsides. (2) Dangers from floods and salt water spray. Local flooding is common and often confined to a narrow area. Salt water spray and salt water in the air, especially in typhoon times, are still menaces to crops. The danger from typhoons did not enter directly into the determination of land classification because the area of destruction was so wide that it was not a factor distinguishing one plot from another. (One can however observe areas of differential damage in a village as an aftermath of typhoons).

[173]

178
423
[184]

This old land allotment system is now forgotten except in a few isolated areas where its main features are still apparently preserved. The best known of these is Kudaka Island off the southeastern shore of Okinawa. If the system has disappeared, except for a few isolated survivals, its influence remains to the present: it determined the pattern of land use still in effect today, the pattern of small, discontinuous parcels, and set the precedents for the mechanics of land classification. The basic classifications such as rice land, dry crop land, community forest were Japanese and are of great age. The old land allotment system is also considered to be of great antiquity.[2]

[177]

2 It was a matter of considerable disappointment that I was unable to spend two or three weeks on Kudaka to study the land system there. Neither has time permitted an investigation (of great inherent interest) of the historical antecedants of the old Okinawan system. Land classification, such as we will be discussing in the next chapter, is very old in Japanese culture. The old Okinawan system bears some resemblances to the "mouth-share-land" (ku-bu-den) system of old Japan which appears in the Taihō code (702 A.D.). This was a system of distribution of communally owned land, but I have not been able to determine whether the distribution was periodic. See Wigmore, J. H. and Simmons, D. B. Notes on land tenure and local institutions in old Japan. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 19 (1891), 77 on land classification, (continued on next page)

bottom will imprint nine squares on the wet soil, and as it is turned another nine will be imprinted so that when continued the field is laid out in tiny squares. Three or four seedlings are planted on the corners of the square made by the waku. 243 804 413

Men operate the frame. As they turn it, making the square pattern on the damp soil, women follow behind with the seedlings. The frame has been in use in Matsuda for about fifteen years. An Okinawan agricultural school student is said to have invented it. It was not used in the southern villages studied, an interesting sidelight on the slowness of innovation even on a small island like Okinawa, for many farmers in the south expressed surprise at its use and had not heard of it. The device is helpful to those with large plots. In Matsuda, there are not many of these frames, but borrowing is frequent. [462] [176] [184] [426]

In contrast with recent introductions, such as the universal treadle thresher, the frame seems to be confined to one geographic area. The reason for this may be that the use of the thresher was actively encouraged by the Japanese as a successful time and labor saving device, while the frame was not similarly publicized. 243 804 [407]

Another method, a more traditional one, is to use a piece of wood the same length as the waku with seven little knobs and the two ends to give the nine spaces. This is the jiyogi. A piece of string stretched from one end of the field to the other is used to get a straight line along a row. When the planting has taken place along one row, the jiyogi is used to measure off one space between rows, the guide line is moved over and the operation repeated. This achieves the same purpose as the frame or the string with the markers. Men are more likely to handle these operations, the women following along with the transplanting. But the division of labor is by no means hard and fast. [462]

Care of rice until its maturity. Rice set out in squares is easier to cultivate, weed, and harvest. During its growth, it will be necessary occasionally to loosen the soil or to break up clods which escaped the initial working. There may be some temporary drainage of water off the fields at these times. 243

Weeding rice is usually done by hand, though once in a while a farmer has a hand cultivator. Weeding the rice field is an unrelenting job which is done about once a week. More attention is given to this task when the plants are younger. Weeding is worked in with other daily chores, and all members of the family may participate.

The rice is now allowed to grow with the hope that strong winds or a typhoon will not blow over the slender shoots or submerge them. If the rice is submerged when the shoots are still fairly young, they will gradually right themselves. Farmers say that attempting to upright the plants by hand will not work. The quality of rice once submerged is poor and sometimes half the rice in the plot is lost. If the submersion occurs when the plants are near maturity and the stalks are 20 or 25

244 [132] months. The amount of sweet potatoes grown is not closely related to the season. It depends much more on rainfall.

[031] [131] The effects of typhoons on the plant are most noticeable after transplanting. Salt water spray shrivels the transplants up and they die without developing. These conditions are more noticeable near the seashore in areas like Nagamo that lack trees and tidewater shelters.

824 Like rice, all of the sweet potato plant is used. Plant residues are turned under to fertilize the soil. This turning under of the vines or their use in composts is a doubtful blessing if the plants are diseased. The good potatoes are reserved for human consumption. [231] The poor or the diseased ones are mashed up in a stone mortar with a long pole, used like a pestle, for pig and goat food. Besides using the tops as slips, women constantly cut them off for fresh greens for [262] the pigs. The sweet potato is the basic food because it is cheap, can be grown the year round in lowlands and uplands, and can be cultivated by all members of the family. As pig food, it is a means of [962] inexpensively raising animals which later have cash value. The feeding and care of pigs is usually one of the incidental chores of women.

244 184 The varieties most commonly found in these Okinawan villages are the Okinawan #100 (Okinawan no hyakugo) and varieties known locally as the benta, a small round tuber, and the bokuto. The two chief differences between the northern and southern villages in cultivating the sweet potato are (1) the two and three pronged hoes are much more in evidence in the north. With practice, they can be used advantageously in quickly weeding a plot while not cutting the potato itself. (2) Matsuda appears to be less dependent on the [262] sweet potato as a human food. The farmer here has more rice for him- [231] self and a greater proportion of his sweet potato crop goes for animal food.

6

The Planting of Sugar Cane and Sugar Making

249 Sugar cane (kibi) is grown on dry crop land, its rows often alternating on the same plot with the sweet potato. Cane may be started with cuttings, or it may be a second growth (ratoon) from the stubs of the old plant after it has been cut down for crushing. Cuttings may be purchased or selected plants from another planting are used. The slips are cut to leave three buds. These cuttings may be planted in three ways: (1) all horizontally, (2) horizontally with the cutting which comes from the topmost part of the stalk planted slantwise, or (3) all cuttings may be planted slanting.

The soil must be thoroughly worked with the ever present hoe. Plowing and harrowing are rarely done. The earth must be thoroughly fertilized. In addition, small amounts of compost may be placed under the cutting, and less often liquid night soil might be used.

In Matsuda, the stalk is cut up with a large knife. In Nagano and Hanashiro, the oshikiriba (literally, push-cut-machine) is common. This is a device with a fixed blade, curving upward, on a stand. The cane is laid on the top of the blade. The handle is pressed down, forcing the cane stalk through the stationary blade. The use of this device is not universal. In the north, the hand cutting machine was a casualty of the war. 249 184

It is worth a slight digression here to add that, in considering various techniques as evidences of a departure from or adherence to traditional methods, the effects of the recent war must constantly be borne in mind. Sugar making is a good example. Primitive methods of making it today are a return, out of economic necessity, to earlier ways because of lack of capital to replace the former machinery. In Matsuda, the continued use of the horse drawn crushing rollers is not an expression of conservatism but of improvisation and return, in lieu of anything better, to old methods previously in use. Such devices as the oshikiriba are not good examples of this because it is not a decisively superior tool. A skilled farmer can cut the cane very efficiently with his knife. 178 727 249

Cane cuttings are made when the plant is about six months old and before it is mature. When year old plants are used for cuttings, only the top, or the youngest part is taken. The slip used may have two or three joints or buds. The length of the cutting apparently is determined by the number of joints. In Matsuda, slant planting seems to be favored because the plant is said to receive more water and to be able to withstand typhoons better. Flat planting is faster than slope planting. From one stalk usually five or six transplants are made. 249

There are two plantings of sugar cane, the spring (haru-ue) and the fall (akiue). Cane planted in the spring planting, from January to March, is harvested in April of the following year. In the fall planting from July to September, the cane is harvested a year from the following December. The cane of the fall planting is harvested but the stumps are allowed to sprout and grow again. Following this harvest, the whole plant is torn out and the field is replanted with slips. Though the ratoon crop could be continued longer, the general practice is to tear up the plants after the second growth. 249 221

The slips are about 8 sun (9.6 inches) long. In Hanashiro, they are generally planted flat with the exception of the slip nearest the top of the cane stalk, which is planted at about a 45° angle, the theory being that this part of the stalk has less vitality than the others. These slips are planted about 6-8 inches apart, 8-12 inches deep in rows about 4 feet apart. 249

In Hanashiro, at harvest time, the sugar cane is carried on the shoulder or by horsecart and stacked in piles outside the sugar mill. Though an effort is made to crush it immediately, cuttings may remain overnight or be stacked for a day or two outside the mill. The mill [482] [493]

824 Soy beans have three main uses: soy sauce which is seldom made [262] in the home, bean curd (tōfu) and miso, a bean paste, both always [432] home made. For this reason, soy beans are grown mostly for home use, with the surplus sold. In Hanashiro, where the surpluses are greater, [462] the beans may be sold in Naha, Shuri, or Itoman. Women do the selling, [494] taking the beans to market on the buses, trucks, or three wheeled vehicles.

(2) Other types of beans such as the red dwarf bean (asuki) 241 (Phaseolus angularis Wight), the kidney bean (ingen in Japanese, 262 Phaseolus vulgaris L), the broad or horse bean (soramame in Japanese, Vician fabia L), and peas (endō in Japanese, Pisum sativum L) are grown for home use, usually in parcels which are closest to the house.

(3) The giant radish, (daikon in Japanese, Raphanus sativus L) [263] is, after the soy bean, the most important of the minor crops grown for home use. This is the vegetable most favored either as a condiment, [252] or as a side dish. It is eaten sliced raw, pickled, or fried in strips in soy sauce. When eaten boiled, its flavor resembles that of a turnip.

(5) The pumpkin (Cucurbita pepo L) called nanka or kabocha, the latter name being derived from the word Cambodia from which the pumpkin was introduced into Japan. They are harvested in summer, and one crop a year, generally for home use, is grown. If the flesh [231] becomes too ripe and turns reddish and sweet, it is not relished and the pumpkin is fed to the pigs.

(6) The cucumber (kiuri in Japanese, Cucumus sativus L) is a very minor crop. In none of the villages were they generally grown, and then only for home use.

(7) The hechima or tōgwa in Japanese, subui in Okinawan.[7] This is very large and cylindrical. In exceptional specimens, its outward appearance is indistinguishable from the water melon. Its flesh is white. In the two southern villages, the tōgwa is grown very sparingly. [184] In Katsuda and the surrounding villages, it is more common. Here it is used to fill in during times of food shortage. Some specimens I have [221] seen weighed over 100 pounds. It is planted after lunar New Years, harvested in the 6th or 7th lunar month, a period reaching from about January to May. From April to July, when other vegetables are scarce, [252] it is often used as a substitute. The flesh when boiled is rather tasteless; it is commonly boiled and served with chunks of meat. The tōgwa, in the northern villages, is often stored in dark cool places away from the sunlight, often under the house. If not cut open, the [251] melon can be saved for a year.

7 I am not certain whether this is Luffa cylindrica Roem, Luffa petola, Ser, the Luffa sponge, rag gourd, etc., whose pulp disappears when ripe to be replaced by a web of fibres.

melon can be saved for a year. It is also served raw with vinegar and sugar dressing, often mixed with another vegetable to make a salad called nanasuguwa in Okinawan. 24/ 262 [252]

(8) The burdock (gobo) is also very minor and usually grown for home use. It is boiled when eaten.

(9) The carrot (ninjin) is a minor crop.

(10) The trumpet or bottle gourd (yūgao) is only grown in Matsuda and for home use as a summer food. [184]

(11) Spinach (hōrensō), onions (negi), Chinese lettuce (hakusai) are not uncommon. Spinach, lettuce (chisi), and onions do not have the importance either as a crop or a food that they have with us.

(12) The taro (satoimo in Japanese, Colocasia esculenta Schott) can occasionally be seen growing in Hanashiro or Matsuda, often on the edge of a rice field. It is known locally also as taimo and apparently is the same as the Japanese dasheen. The taro is used as a side dish.

(13) The Irish potato (bareisho) is occasionally grown for sale. [432]

(14) Cabbage (tamana) is partly a cash, partly a home use crop. It is also minor. Some Okinawans like cabbage and grow it for their own use, but many dislike it and sell the crop.

(15) The grains are an unimportant part of village agriculture. The most common are barley (ōmugi), wheat (komugi) and millet. (Mugi is a general term for grain. The ō means large, the ko, small, referring to the kernels of the two grains). [193]

Although comparable statistics were not available for each of the villages, the following table from Hanashiro clearly shows the relative importance of the major crops: 241 311

HANASHIRO
Crop Acreages, 1950

Crop	Area in Chō [a/]	Percent of Total
Rice	10.89	100.0
Total Dry Crop Land	59.88	100.0
Sweet Potatoes	35.86	59.9
Soy Beans	13.63	22.8
Sugar Cane	5.41	9.0
Beans and Peas (excluding soy)	2.30	3.9
Wheat	1.80	3.0
Millet	0.50	0.8
Vegetables	0.38	0.6

824
757

Moxa (mogusa in Japanese, fuchiba in Okinawan) in the traditional Chinese and Japanese pharmacopoeia, had considerable former importance. In powdered form, it is placed on a swelling or painful part, which is cauterised by burning the moxa with a charcoal stick or a hot piece of metal. Moxa can be bought, packed and prepared in Japan, at most Okinawan village stores. But wild moxa is not used for this purpose. Formerly a brew was made of the wild plant and drunk for bringing down a fever. It is still used with the yagi, another plant, as a broth. Now aspirin, also obtainable at village shops is commonly taken for these ills.

824
178
184
[417]

These plants are now nearly forgotten. In Hanashiro only the nigana and mogusa were remembered. In Minatogawa, the situation was the same. In Nagamo, a few slippers from the pandanus are still made. The virtual disappearance of home industries based on the pandanus is the result of a diminished supply and in part to loss of skills and failure of a younger generation to acquire them either because of the attraction of more exciting occupations or to lack of interest. This is not meant as a generalisation. Home industries based on the use of uncultivated plants, has not vanished from all parts of Okinawa. Activity changes from locality to locality, even when these are close together. Slipper production from the pandanus has practically disappeared in Minatogawa, but across the river in the village of Horikawa they are still made.

Plant	Hanashiro	Minatogawa-Nagamo	Matsuda
Pandanus (adan)	Scarce, not used	Some slippers made	Not used
Nigana	Root boiled and used as a medicine		Broth for stomach and headaches.
Obako	Not used	For swellings; hot leaf used as a poultice.	Not used [157]
Moxa (mogusa)	Used as in Minatogawa	Wild plant boiled, brew used for bringing down fever. Powdered form purchased.	Used in combination with another plant, the yagi, resulting broth used for general complaints. [157]

In Hanashiro, the fish were raised for sale by the young men's association. The supply of fish is too uncertain and too seasonal for these remedies to be an effective part of the traditional medicine. Like the native plants, and many of the traditional medical practices, they are yielding to the drugs which can be found in the small village shops: stomach and headache powders, eye lotions, aspirin, and other pharmaceuticals and patent medicines.

The economic and occupational organization of village fishing is very informal. Partnerships are made on a basis of friendship and continue so until one party, for any reason, decides to leave. There are about 40 of these partnerships among the 120 odd adult fishermen.[2] The fishermen of the village also have a fisherman's association (suisankumiai) similar in function to the agricultural associations which the Japanese instituted throughout the empire. This association has a head (suisankumiaichō). Like so many official and administrative jobs in a village, these offices are thrust upon the man. He seldom seeks them. In the larger places where there is more remuneration, the man might seek the job. The head of the association is chosen by the fishermen of the village. He receives Y10 a month for each fisherman he represents. This is a supplementary job, as he could not exist on this sum. Lack of cash prevents any ambitious services to the membership. The association buys and sells gas and oil, nets, lines, hooks, and other necessary items which have been imported either from the United States or from Japan. Occasionally, the association has sufficient funds for small temporary loans for purchasing imported gear, loans from Y100 to Y 500 for a period of a week or two. The main function of the association is the exchange of information between the local head and representatives from the larger association in Naha. This becomes a study of the daily market demands; the information provided is a guide to fisherman in meeting the demand. This is all very informal. The head of the association circulates among the fishermen, giving them tips on what to expect and how prices are going.

7

The Rough Language of Hinatogawa

The Hinatogawans have one characteristic which is not shared by their agricultural neighbors of Nagano, nor indeed by any of the agricultural villages. This is their rough (arai) language, so described by Hinatogawans with a certain amount of pride. This language, if used in the other village, would be considered insulting. It is notable for the freedom with which nicknames, some funny, some disparaging, some pointed at infirmities, are used.

2 The word used here is kumiai but actually these partnerships do not have the organized co-operative character that this word usually implies when used in an economic sense.

551 Sometimes they are nicknames like "Fat" or "Slim," or those used ironically like "Curly" for a bald headed man. No offense is taken by the fishing people at these nicknames, though they would be used by people in other villages only to very close friends, if at all. The commonest of these Okinawan nicknames are:

(1) Migwa. This is applied to persons who are squint-eyed or to those whose eyes have the appearance of being only partially open. Persons with this formation of the eyelid are not uncommon, and after one is alerted to the word, he can appreciate the frequency with which it is used. It applies to old and young alike.

(2) Another very common name is gappai. Sometimes this seems to mean a person with a pronounced dolicocephalic head, or one with a high bump in the back of the head, or a person with a high forehead and long head, rounding off high in back. In any event, one can soon recognize the distinctive features of the gappai when he sees a person who has that nickname. Migwa and gappai may supplant the person's own name. One 15 year old boy was universally known as gappai, even by old grandmothers who would use the nickname in much the same way we would say "Sonny."

Less common are (3) akabe or akaba, referring to children with many boils and swellings. Names given in childhood often stay with a person through adulthood after the cause for which the names were bestowed has disappeared. (4) Naga, for tall and slender, corresponding to "Slim." (5) Kuru (from kurol, black). This refers to children born a little darker than most. It does not mean people deeply tanned, almost blackened by the sun, as many local fishermen are. (6) Hinga, meaning dirty and used of people who do not wash themselves. It is applied to old women, such as hingabachii, a dirty old woman. (7) Sakitare, a drunkard, one who consumes too much sake. (8) Butenden, big belly, corresponding to "Fat" or "Fatty." (9) Hikku, a one-eyed man. It is also applied to a person one of whose eyes droops. (10) Tigwa, no hands, (11) hanahaga, bump on the nose, including a wart or a growth, (12) shippiru, "Shorty," (13) mintama, large open, presumably popping eyes, and (14) maguru. This applies to extremely curly hair, like peppercorn hair. This is unusual among Okinawans, but one occasionally sees it, thick and abundant, with coarse, dry, and very tight curls.

[184] These terms were known and recognized in the other villages studied, but they were not freely used. There seems to be a genuine distinction here in the behavior of the fishing people and the more restrained agricultural villagers. One Hinatogawan explained the rough language as a carry over from the language of the sea, but he emphasized that the nicknames would give no offense in Hinatogawa, while they would be insulting to the neighboring people of Nagamo.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

512 821 A fishing village has a different kind of regularity than an agricultural village. Activities in both are determined by the weather. During a heavy rain, everyone is in his house. But the farmer, even with a dark angry sky, can work up to the storm, and often continues working in a mild rain. The fishing village is guided both by bad and anticipated bad weather. On a fine fishing day, the village seems deserted with the men gone, and the women in the homes. But several days of rain or unfavorable weather keep the men home, and the village is alive with other activities, such as repairing nets, boats, and houses. Much of the fisherman's work at sea is at night, either in the actual fishing or in going and coming. [513] For this reason, there is considerable daytime sleeping among them. On off days, the young fishermen loll around, often finding it difficult to pass the time away.

9

Conclusion

226 184 Fishing has become the occupation of a few places, such as Itoman town, some villages on the Motobu peninsular, and Minatogawa. Ryukyuans have achieved considerable fame for their skill in fishing in waters other than their own, such as their drive-in net fishing in the East Indies and around Singapore.[3] Possibly it is the fewness of good ports, the necessity of adapting requirements to varying local geographical conditions, such as the coral reefs, or the long period of emigration that have prevented the large scale development of fishing on this island and insured the dominance of an agricultural life.

262 It is also a striking fact that, on this small island where no village is far from the sea, fish is an uncommon article of the diet. The explanation is simple. It is a problem of distribution in which [435] two considerations are involved: the higher prices obtainable in Naha, [251] and the difficulties of preserving fish while distributing them through [439] the rural villages. More often than not, the fish in a farmer's diet is the dried sardine or a canned fish from Japan, not the local catch.

Part 2

The Quarries of Minatogawa-Nagamo

1

Introduction

324 [458] Minatogawa is famous throughout Okinawa for its stone. Stone from the village and its environs may be seen in many towns and villages of the island. Before the war, there was a flourishing boat trade in wood and stone between Minatogawa and the northern region. The fine

3 For a recent statement, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu area, as cited, 7-9.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Conclusion

311 189 In the comparative study of these villages, certain distinctions are worth summarizing. (1) In the southern villages, which lack forest land, there is much more dependence on the uncultivated wild land (genya) which supports the grasses. (2) The forest, in Matsuda as elsewhere in the north, is a reserve for necessities like firewood, thatch, charcoal and building materials, both for local use and southern trade. (3) The shelter belts and groves have been preserved in the north. (4) Tidewater plantings of shelter belts are needed in the south. Plantings of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, under American Civil Administration encouragement, have begun in the south as protection from wind and salt water spray damage. These include the mokumao, the pandanus, the hibiscus (Albizzia julibrissum Durass, in Japanese the nemunoki) and the hirugi (Bruguiera spp.)[12] (5) Ecologically, the situation is more balanced in the north where a good start seems to have been made in arresting progressive deforestation. (6) This balance, if Matsuda is a representative village, can only be maintained by constant appraisal of the relationships of the forest to agriculture, to the growing population, and to the economic demands to which this leads, unless the wood and timber demands of the island are to be met in large part by imports.

245 647

114 648 636 An occupying power like the United States, rich in modern techniques, can do much to improve the life of a small island people. If it is mindful of the history and the present features of the culture, it can suggest improvements without destroying the bases on which the culture rests.

313 114 One of its greatest accomplishments could be an aggressive and continuing program of conservation and afforestation. The present administration, through the Forestry Section of the Food and Natural Resources Department, has started a program which, if permanently pursued, could have far-reaching consequences. An emphasis on selective cutting, conservation, fire control, tidewater plantings, and many other measures could only be a credit to American administrators and foresters as well. The costs, as such things go, would be moderate.

From personal experience in village life, I have no doubt that the co-operation of villagers in all parts of the island could be readily obtained in advancing a large scale afforestation program. The readiness of the people of Matsuda cannot be an exception. These things could be accomplished without an unwieldy administrative apparatus. I have been continually struck with the ability of the Okinawans, with their skill in local organization, to accomplish

12 I am indebted to Mr. Richard Varney of the Department of Food and Natural Resources, USCAR, for this information.

Y2000 each to make Y18,000 available. If the lowest bid is Y1800 per share, the borrower accepts a discount (waribiki) of Y200 for each Y2000 advanced and will repay Y2100 a month, which includes Y100 interest (rishi) 424 426

Amount of the loan	Y18,000 (2000 x 9)
Less Discount	- 1,800 (200 x 9)
Actual Amount Received	Y16,200
Interest paid	900 (100 x 9)
Actual Cost of the Loan	Y2700 (Y1800 plus Y900)

The proceeds from the discount may be distributed as a dividend to those who furnished the money, or it may be held in the group for additional loans.

The essentials are summarized in the accompanying tables. There are 11 members, A through K. The first month, A, the initiator, gets Y20,000, and by the end of the period (the beginning of the 11th month) has repaid Y21,000 in ten monthly installments of Y2100 each. In the seventh month G is the borrower. He bid Y1880 for Y2000 loan from each of the remaining members and received Y7520 (Y1880 x 4) and repays Y8400 (Y2100 x 4). In this example, K is the man with the money. He has advanced Y18,385, the sum of column K, and has received principal, interest, and discount payments of Y21000 (total of line 11, A through J), making Y2615 for himself).

This type of mutual loan group was found only in Minatogawa. There is a three time rule for the initiator (hakkinin) of the group. He is expected, after the life of the first one, to start two more, whose membership may or may not be the same. It is considered unlucky for him to fail to do this. He will suffer misfortune, such as illness, poverty, or death. Whether these eventualities are feared is hard to say, but the three time rule is always observed. The initiator also is responsible for calling on guarantors to pay amounts in default. [184] [777]

Since these groups are composed of individuals who trust one another, there is flexibility in handling the funds. Generally one meeting a month is held. But there may be 15 in a year. If extra money is picked up in the summer months, two meetings might be held in July, August, and September. Certain fictions are recognized. If A needs more than Y20,000, he may, when it is D's turn, and with his consent, act as if he were D, and get an additional loan in place of D. These maneuverings depend on consultation and discussion within the group. Very short term loans are seldom made. But the same object can be achieved by splitting a loan with the actual borrower, the silent borrower assuming the interest and repayments for his portion of the total.

The discount type is more adapted to a cash economy in which fisherman or business men have available money, and borrowers are willing to pay substantial amounts for immediate loans. The agricultural [184]

[Text continues Top of P. 248 -- analyst]

villages have the simple interest type, with or without the bidding feature. The order of borrowing may be determined by discussion, and, if more than one person wishes a loan at the same time, lots are drawn.

In the interest (rishi) type, a man borrows, for example, Y2000 with ten men contributing Y200 each and repays Y2200 in ten monthly installments. (Here the interest is Y10 per month for each Y100 advanced). If a borrower cannot meet a payment, the members make up the deficit which then becomes an additional obligation on the part of the borrower.

Mutual loan groups were found in Matsuda and Hanashiro, though they are not so strong as in Hinatogawa. The amounts involved are less, reflecting the poorer cash standing of the farmer. Guarantors (hōshōnin) are not required since the members know one another well. Loans are generally made for the construction or repair of houses, pens, sheds, or stalls, for hiring a pig breeder, to buy a domestic animal, or to tide one over a crop failure. A group may be organised for the specific purpose of enabling each member, during the life of the loan group, to purchase a small pig.

Women may have their own groups. In Hanashiro the only group known to me was composed of women. Again, assume twenty members who advance Y100 each, a total of Y2000 initially, and who have agreed upon an interest rate of Y10 per month on each Y100 borrowed. The life of the group is twenty months. The progress of the loans and monthly repayments is shown in the following table. It illustrates the continuous turning in of principal and interest payments to furnish capital for new loans. The multiplications in parentheses show the number of members times the amount involved per member in each transaction. In Hanashiro, there are three of these women's groups. This is said to be a decline from the pre-war number.

In Matsuda these groups are not important in financing the farmer. It is estimated that there are five groups, with 15-20 members each, operating in Matsuda. Bidding may be dispensed with, the interest is divided among the borrowers and not turned back for further loans, and the sequence of borrowers is determined either by discussion or by lot. These were Y500 groups, higher monthly advances than in Hanashiro, but the principle is the same.

The limited use of these mutual loan groups in the agricultural villages may be temporary, and may not be typical of all Okinawa. According to residents of Hanashiro and Matsuda, they were not widely used before the war. They have now further declined in importance except in Hinatogawa. It is rather difficult to account for this, considering the need for money and the reluctance of villagers to go to banks and institutions for loans. The fear of red tape and entertainment costs is the chief deterrent to institutional borrowing. Perhaps the failure is merely indicative of insufficient money to lend, and inability to repay what is borrowed. Farmers have little money to advance, little surplus to repay loans from others.

436 no native money and used the Japanese cash, and that the Japanese
175 did not permit a native coinage.[2]

Up to the war, only bills of low denominations circulated in
436 the villages. In Minatogawa, an old lady, now about 73, said that before the war she had never seen a ¥100 note, which at that time was worth slightly over US$25. But since the 19th century, new conditions have pried the farmer loose from barter and self-sufficiency.
434 There is little to warrant a belief that rural villages are self-
511 sufficient. The most elementary obligations, such as sending one's children to school, require cash. An average rural family of five may require from ¥40-60,000 a year.

Cash outlays include: (1) Entertainment, including the purchase
[574] of sake. Entertainment is an integral part of the culture and cannot be dismissed as a luxury. (2) Clothing. (3) Fertilizer. (4) Tobacco.
[388] (5) Soap. No soap is made in the home. American soap flakes are highly prized, but generally are not purchased because of the cost.
[262] (6) Hair cutting. (7) Food and food supplements, such as noodles and vermicelli types of paste, cooking oils, salt, soy sauce, meat, fish, seaweed (kombu), rice, if not grown and purchases from the import store. (8) Fuel, charcoal, charcoal sticks. (9) Transportation for business or pleasure. (10) Newspapers. Many subscriptions are cancelled when the price goes up.
[209] (11) Tools and tool repairs, but maintenance is small after the original investment. (12) School books and
[872] contributions to schools for purchasing special items. (13) Medicines and mid-wives' fees. (14) Occasional purchases of lumber, stone, or
[651] tile. (15) Taxes.

In the farming areas, sugar and pigs are the only significant
434 sources of cash income. Sweet potatoes, rice, eggs, and soy beans may be sold, but the amounts are either too small or the selling price too low to provide substantial amounts of cash. Occasionally younger sons may have jobs which bring in money, and a farmer or his sons may have a horse cart for hire.

In Minatogawa, cash outlays, in addition to the items already mentioned, are required for nets, gasoline, and oil. Cash comes from sales of fish, pigs, and stone. The lack of rice, an insufficient
[511] sweet potato crop for year round needs, imports of firewood from the north and the occasional need to purchase grasses for thatch make this community more dependent on cash than the agricultural community.

434 The economic problem of the fisherman is also different from that
511 of the farmer. Both the farmer and the fisherman must pay cash for
184 medicines, fertilizer, alcoholic drinks, clothing, various special but traditional articles of the diet, taxes, tools, and supplies. The farmer, however, can produce much of his food. He can exist on sweet potatoes, bean curd, and bean paste soup, and if need be may spend little money on food. The fisherman cannot exist on fish alone. Fishermen without fields must depend on cash earnings to buy the

2 Hawks, Perry's expeditions to Japan, Vol. I, 160, 220-21. Chamberlain, The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, Geo. Journal 5 (1895), 313.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

necessities of life. Fishermen are more accustomed to dealing in currency transactions and these are more frequent and freer than in the farming village. 434 511 184 [439]

The economic history of the average Okinawan agricultural village from the late 19th century when Japanese control became firm to the present is largely an account of the fluctuations in rice, sweet potato and sugar cane production. This history is difficult to reconstruct on a local level because of the destruction of records and inexact memories. The point is nevertheless worth making, if only to stress again that these villages are not isolated rural economies. The general experience seems to have been that crop acreages have contracted and expanded in response to local needs and to the demands of trade with Japan. 433 [439]

In the Hanashiro area, to use one example, there is a current interest in rice production because of its high value, and sugar cane seems to be displacing some sweet potato acreage. Sugar, even though coarse and unrefined, has a market in Japan strong enough to warrant production for the cash income at the expense of the cheap and plentiful sweet potato. 433 435

One of the most significant facts of economic life in these villages has been the maintenance of individual farms and crop variety. Plantation monoculture, subject to international price fluctuations, and often conducive to local impoverishment, has not developed. 423 311

Private ownership in land, the inheritance of land within the family system, individual farms, tiny as they are, have undoubtedly been a stabilising influence on these village economies. 423 428

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1993 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

The Okinawan Midwife

Children are born under the care of a midwife (sanba). Physicians do not attend at birth, but they may be called later if complications develop. Native doctors (yabu), who have now largely disappeared, are not consulted. One midwife may serve several villages. She is engaged some months before the expected birth. Midwives are highly respected. The older ones have added to their initial training a wealth of knowledge based on experience. A midwife in Onoza village takes care of the expectant mothers of Matsuda and one in Gushichan village serves those of Hanashiro and Minatogawa. Midwives long resident in an area are beloved by the children they have delivered. The children when adult visit her, or she is invited to the homes of those at whose birth she has assisted.

Prenatal examinations are made by the midwife in the 3rd, 5th, 7th, and 9th month of pregnancy, the most thorough of those being the last three. The mother goes to the midwife for the examinations, but the birth takes place in the home. A birth other than in one's home is considered bad luck.

Starting with the 5th month, the belly is wrapped around with a flannel sash (a haraobi). On the 5th month, it may be 7 shaku (about 7 feet) long and about 8 inches wide; by the ninth month, a 9 shaku length is used. The sash is not needed, in one midwife's opinion, during the last month of pregnancy, but it may be left on. While the sash is worn, it is taken off three times a month for laundering. The purpose of the binding is to keep the child in its natural position and to prevent it from turning and causing an abnormal delivery.

After birth, the child may be slapped on the backside if the mother has been in labor 17 hours or more. According to one midwife, the usual labor for a first child is about 17 hours, and 7 for the second. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord and may, but not always, dispose of the afterbirth (taiban, iya in Japanese).

In the villages, this may be disposed of by women relatives or by the father. It is buried, following an old custom, behind the house in a place where it does not rain. In Matsuda, women relatives wrap the placenta in a cloth and bury it, while friends, relatives, and children gather around and laugh. There are variants of this custom. In Minatogawa, the afterbirth is wrapped in a cloth and buried back of the house by the father. Neighboring children gather and laugh while this is going on. The reason for the laughing is that the new born child may always smile and be gay. In another variant, the father alone does the laughing. In all villages studied, this custom in its variants still has vitality.

According to a Onoza midwife, maternal death in child birth is unusual. Hanashiro women said the same. Miscarriages in early

843 pregnancy are also said to be rare, although miscarriages in later pregnancy up to two or three months before the birth are more numerous because of the continuing heavy work of the mother in the fields. The
849 mother in the agricultural village normally works up to the time for the birth. She eats her normal diet. After birth, the child is placed on a large comforter (futon) beside the mother.

The midwife, after delivery, goes once a day for a week to the
[846] mother's home. Her fee is not decided upon before hand, but according
[965] to custom, averages Y350 for a normal and Y500 for a difficult birth, a low fee probably enforced by the poverty and lack of cash of farm families. (In Naha corresponding fees are said to be Y1-2000).

853 There is no uniform way of feeding the child after birth. In most cases the child is not breast fed until after the third day due to the fact that mothers have little milk at this time. The first, second, and the third days it is fed warm water with small amounts of white sugar, but this is by no means universal. Some mothers have said that they give the child the breast 4 or 5 hours after birth. In any case, the child very quickly becomes accustomed to feeding at the breast, and this continues for an indeterminate period, depending on
[862] the mother and the child. It may be for two years, or until the next child comes. In all communities studied, other arrangements are made in the unlikely event that the mother does not have milk of her own. The child may be given evaporated cow's milk or friends or relatives nurse the child. In Minatogawa, if a woman has special duties or takes a trip out of town and cannot take her child with her, she can pay to have it nursed.

843 One belief regarding pregnancy still exists among the old in the Ginoza area. If a new house is being built during the pregnancy of the woman of the house, the cap of the roof is not put on until after the birth has taken place.

2

Birth Customs and Convalescence

852
849
231
[184] In Minatogawa, and to a much lesser extent in Nanashiro, birth customs are related to certain beliefs about the pig pen. These were not known in Itatsuda. In the two southern villages they have virtually disappeared, except among the old. According to a Nanashiro farmer's
[189] wife, the child on the day of its birth is washed, dressed in new clothes, and carried to the pig pen, which is supposed to frighten away evil spirits (bakemono).[1]

[1] [See footnote 1, bottom of P. 259--analyst]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

away evil spirits (bakemono).[1] From the pig sty the child is then taken to the kitchen, where a pot of rice has been cooking. Soot from the outside of the pot is taken up with the middle finger of the right hand and a round black spot pressed on the forehead above the bridge of the nose between the eyebrows. The reason for this could not be ascertained.

Beliefs in the power of a pig sty to ward off evil spirits are still held in Hinatogawa and the customs were generally practiced up to the beginning of the war. But these beliefs were related more to celebrations following the birth of the child than to the birth itself. The elements of these beliefs seemed to be that the afterworld was close to this world. If a child were not protected, the spirits of the afterworld would steal the child and take him back. The party celebrating the birth lasted a whole week, usually starting each evening about 8 and ending at 8 the following morning. Guests stayed up all night to prevent the child from being stolen, for if anyone went to sleep, the spirit would enter. Spirits followed behind the guest and were especially dangerous after 10 at night. The spirits however were frightened by the pigs; guests arriving during the danger hours went to the pig pen first to scare off the spirit following them, before entering the house. There was no evidence, in the parties I attended, of any present observance of this custom by young parents. The week of all night parties is no longer held.

These beliefs were found in Hinatogawa. Hanashiro informants had heard of such customs, but were vague about them. While their seeming absence in Matsuda may be due to incomplete data, there may be another explanation. These beliefs may have been picked up by fishing people from other sources.

One other birth custom known as jiru belongs to the recent history of the island. Jiru, as explained in Chapter V, is a fire place sunk in the floor of an Okinawan house, often in the corner of the dining room which adjoins a hall or a sleeping room, and near the kitchen. Convalescence was called jiru because mother and child warmed themselves by the device. Today convalescence may be called jiru, though it has nothing to do with the old custom, which in the literature has been referred to as "roasting."

1 When I discussed this and the following beliefs relating to pigs with people in Matsuda, they ridiculed them and said there was no truth in it, implying that people in the south did not know what they were talking about. Subsequent rechecking convinced me that this was not so and that the beliefs in Hinatogawa represent differences in the rural culture.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Naming the Child

On the day of his birth, the child is given a name, but this is not the one it carries throughout life. The latter name, sometimes called the school name, may be given 5 days after birth, counting the date of the birth. This custom of double naming is still used in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa, though, according to local residents, it disappeared from Matsuda ten years ago. It is hard to discover the reasons for this double naming. Perhaps the first name is a temporary one to be used for the first crucial days of the child's life. If he survives, he receives his permanent one. This name, while known to the child, is not ordinarily retained when he gets his second name. Among the very old, however, some of these first names have been retained through life.[4] In Hanashiro, young and old alike may be known by both names, but the younger are apt to use the full given name. Adults and the old are known by both names.

The names given on the birth day are often the occasion of laughter, as some have the same pronunciation as common names of household utensils, agricultural tools, or domestic animals. The following list was obtained in Hanashiro but the same names were equally familiar in the other villages. (1) Ushi, given to males and females. Ushi is also the word for cattle. (2) Kame, also the word for a turtle or a tortoise. (3) Tsuru, also a stork or crane. (4) Nta, given to both sexes, the Okinawan word for pig. (5) Handu, also a water barrel. (6) Kama, also a sickle. (7) Nabi, a pot.[5]

These are homonyms. The name is written in hiragana or katakana (the Japanese syllabaries), not with the Chinese character of its homonym. Hence it would be incorrect to say that the child is named "Cow," "Pig," "Pot," etc.

In Matsuda, up to about 30 years ago, according to one informant, if a wife gave birth to a child in the husband's absence, the eldest relative present gave the child a name of the sex opposite its own, apparently to avoid bad luck by resort to contrariety. When mothers gave birth to a child in the toilet, it was named nta or nte, apparently referring to the identity of the toilet and the pig pen.

4 This is apparent in analyzing the family registers (koseki)

5 Other names are Tamachi (female); Umato (female in Hanashiro); Makatu (f); Chiru (f); Taru (male and female); Jira (m); Samru (m and f but scarce); Miyo (m); Utu (f); Kamashi (f), and Kana (m and f).

who are less shy, can meet and enjoy one another's company under socially approved conditions. 834

The engagement (uino in Japanese, sakimui in Okinawan) varies with individuals and villages. In this respect it is like the marriage ceremony. A one year engagement period is considered long. In one instance of a formal engagement taken from Hanashiro, the young man goes to the girl's house, taking a small amount of sake with him. The parents of both principals are present. The group makes a short prayer, before the Buddhist god shelf, that the two will be a happy couple. The sake is placed on the god shelf. In Hinatogawa, the prospective groom's parents prepare a small feast, and they and the boy go to the bride's house. The food offering is put on the god shelf. The two young people promise to marry. In another variant, from Matsuda, the boy takes a food offering and sake to the girl's house. The two eat together and promise to marry at a drink exchange (kampai) in which they alternately sip, as is the custom in Okinawa, out of the same cup. From Matsuda there was still another variant in which the boy was not involved. His mother met the girl's mother and her female relatives in the girl's house. Sake was given to the relatives of the girl. The girl's mother agreed to give her daughter up, the boy's mother agreed that the prospective daughter-in-law would be received in his family. 584 184 [DM8 D82]

All these variants have this in common, that the engagement symbolizes an act that is more than the decision of two young people. It involves the families as well.

585 following the marriage, there is another ceremony, this the day time for relatives and perhaps a few close friends. The couple go to the bride's house where there is food and sake. This means the husband has really and finally accepted the daughter of the house and is thanking her parents for her.

But these events also are not observed uniformly. On the second day, there may be a gathering of friends and relatives, to be followed on the next day by visits of the bride, groom, and the groom's friends and relatives to the bride's home to give thanks for receiving the girl in marriage.

585 268 The food served at weddings depends on the economic circumstances of the family. But at today's prices food which would be considered acceptable costs at least ¥100 per person including sake. This feast had many extras and consisted of a buckwheat (soba) noodle soup, slices of beef and pork, eggs, tenpura, a fritter without a fish or meat filling, sweet potatoes, a vegetable salad of raw radish, green onion and sea weed shoots, bean curd, a boiled fish paste, rice cakes, and a sweet round fritter (sato tenpura) very much resembling the doughnut in taste, various cakes, and a sponge cake (kasutera).

585 [823] The marriage ceremony is performed only when the tide is coming in, for the same reasons that were noted with the birthday celebration of the child. Marriage is a time of bounty and fulfillment, not of diminution and withdrawal.

585 114 There was a "very ancient" Okinawan custom, cited by Spencer on the authority of Shimabuku Genkichi, the student of Okinawan history, of the bride remaining in the home of her parents even after marriage, and the husband coming to her home to spend the nights with her. This Spencer ascribed to the high economic value of the woman and the custom at the time of Spencer's writing (1931) was still said to exist in parts of the northern district (Kunigami) of Okinawa.[3] The temporary return of the wife to her home after her marriage, while the husband went to a public brothel was also an old custom.[4] [548]

585 184 The preceding description of a wedding ceremony in Matsuda may be compared with one seen in Gushichan village close to Hanashiro. (Rural weddings are not so easy to see as one might think. There may be only one or two in a year in a village; when the parties are from different villages, the number in any one village is also reduced). In this

3 Spencer, as cited, 96. In my studies at Matsuda (which is in the Kunigami district) and in visits to Oku on the extreme northern part of the island, I did not encounter any indication of the survival of this custom. But unfortunately I was unaware of their previous existence and there may well be survivals in some of the villages.

4 Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 97.

ceremony the set of three cups (sakazuki) was used. The go-between, a man and a close friend of the groom, poured sake into the top cup. The groom drank; the go-between then refilled the cup, giving it to the bride. The same procedure was repeated with the remaining two cups. 585 184

In this ceremony, after the san-san-kudo, the go-between dipped a pair of chopsticks into salt, putting a bit on the open palm of the bride who then put the salt in her mouth. This was repeated for the groom. The go-between then dipped his finger into a cup of water, touching first the forehead of the bride, then that of the groom.

The presentation of the newly married couple to the guests was also done in a different way. Because of his close friendship with the groom's father, the mayor of the township introduced the bridal pair to the guests. This was a tender and affectionate speech in which the mayor told of the birthplaces of the young man and his bride. He asked the guests, as friends and relatives of the new couple, to teach them how to live well together, how to make a living, and ended by asking everyone present to have a good time. The celebration, the sake drinking, the dancing following the ceremony were essentially the same as in Matsuda. A ring was not used in either ceremony. When used, it is ordinarily given to the bride, not placed on her finger as part of the ceremony. [576] [537] [301]

A custom followed in Hinatogawa illustrates a variation in the preliminaries before the marriage ceremony. The groom (hanamuko) and the go-between or a friend go to the bride's home. They are given refreshments. The groom acknowledges his bride. He returns to his home to await her coming. This may take some time if the tide is not right. Before the war children from 7 to 10 years of age carried long lanterns (chōchin) with candles to light the way for the bride, as she walked to the groom's house. Each child carried two lanterns, which they held very tightly, as it was considered bad luck for them to change from one hand to the other. The lanterns have now been abandoned (when the ceremony is performed) in favor of flashlights, in another triumph of the Industrial Revolution. But the children enjoyed participating because they were given small amounts of money and food. [857] [416] [177]

In the Hinatogawa custom, everyone stepped over the threshhold. Even now, if houses do not have one, a long step is made from the outer stone or ground into the room. Among the guests, there is usually a jokester who humorously announces in a loud voice the arrival of the bride.

In Hinatogawa, the groom's family presents a gift of about ¥5-6000 to the bride's family. (This family would have to be in moderate circumstances to do this). Gifts from the guests are from ¥20-40. The groom's friends may give money to the groom's parents to defray the heavy expenses of the banquet, and the girl's friends give money to her, presumably for the purchase of wedding articles. [431]

There is one further variation in a custom from Hanashiro. On

585 the day of the wedding ceremony, preparations are made at the
● 184 bride's home. Food is served for relatives and friends, and the party then proceeds to the groom's home for the ceremony.

[431] Gifts from the groom's family depend upon economic circumstances, but usually range from Y50 to Y100 up to Y1000. In Hanashiro, something, no matter how small, is always given by the groom's family to the bride's family. Since the war, gifts of chests of drawers and blankets are less common because of high prices.

On the third day, in this Hanashiro custom, the bride and the groom with relatives and friends visit the bride's parents during the day. On the same evening, the visit is returned by the bride's family.

585 There is a general agreement in all the villages that as a con-
178 sequence of the war, the preliminaries to marriage, the ceremony, the
727 gifts, and the events following the ceremony have become simpler.
435 Part of this is due to the high cost of food and entertainment. In the competition with other ceremonies and celebrations, the tendency has been, in the interest of economy, to simplify the old customs, or when this is not possible, to combine celebrations coming close together in the year. One frequently hears the word keisai (economy) used in this connection.

3

Contemporary Attitudes Toward Marriage

58 Marriage customs today are different from those of even 20 years
178 ago. From information collected from the villages, the chief changes in marriage customs have been: (1) the preliminaries and the ceremony have been simplified, (2) marriage takes place at a much older age, (3) marriages between individuals of different villages are more common, (4) there is a shorter engagement period and its significance has declined, (5) the custom in which the bride temporarily returns to her home has disappeared or become rare, (6) the go-between, formerly a respected elder negotiating a marriage, is now a friend, generally the same age as the principals, offering help and advice, and (7) the arranged marriage has given way to freer choice in marriage in which the parents' consent has become largely a formality.

581 Judging by the statements of residents of all villages, many of
582 whom were married under the old arrangement, there is almost universal approval of free choice in marriage. Divorces were said to have been [586] common under the old system, mainly because of the wife's barrenness or unattractiveness. The chances that the marriage will be a happy one are [562] thought to be greater under the new. Among women, it harmonizes with [199] ideas of equality which they have heard of or read about in Japanese magazines since the occupation.

585 the day of the wedding ceremony, preparations are made at the
184 bride's home. Food is served for relatives and friends, and the party then proceeds to the groom's home for the ceremony.

[431] Gifts from the groom's family depend upon economic circumstances, but usually range from Y50 to Y100 up to Y1000. In Hanashiro, something, no matter how small, is always given by the groom's family to the bride's family. Since the war, gifts of chests of drawers and blankets are less common because of high prices.

On the third day, in this Hanashiro custom, the bride and the groom with relatives and friends visit the bride's parents during the day. On the same evening, the visit is returned by the bride's family.

585 There is a general agreement in all the villages that as a con-
178 sequence of the war, the preliminaries to marriage, the ceremony, the
727 gifts, and the events following the ceremony have become simpler.
435 Part of this is due to the high cost of food and entertainment. In the competition with other ceremonies and celebrations, the tendency has been, in the interest of economy, to simplify the old customs, or when this is not possible, to combine celebrations coming close together in the year. One frequently hears the word keizai (economy) used in this connection.

3

Contemporary Attitudes Toward Marriage

58 Marriage customs today are different from those of even 20 years
198 ago. From information collected from the villages, the chief changes in marriage customs have been: (1) the preliminaries and the ceremony have been simplified, (2) marriage takes place at a much older age, (3) marriages between individuals of different villages are more common, (4) there is a shorter engagement period and its significance has declined, (5) the custom in which the bride temporarily returns to her home has disappeared or become rare, (6) the go-between, formerly a respected elder negotiating a marriage, is now a friend, generally the same age as the principals, offering help and advice, and (7) the arranged marriage has given way to freer choice in marriage in which the parents' consent has become largely a formality.

581 Judging by the statements of residents of all villages, many of
582 whom were married under the old arrangement, there is almost universal approval of free choice in marriage. Divorces were said to have been [586] common under the old system, mainly because of the wife's barrenness or unattractiveness. The chances that the marriage will be a happy one are [562] thought to be greater under the new. Among women, it harmonizes with [197] ideas of equality which they have heard of or read about in Japanese magazines since the occupation.

war.[5] The reasons given by the villagers are the increase in the number of widows and the present disproportion between young men and young women in the marrying ages.

One cannot generalise about attitudes toward illegitimacy. In two of the communities, Hinatogawa and Matsuda, my impression was that there had been a change from disapproval to tolerance. The current reaction was often described in the famous Japanese phrase which covers thousands of situations: shi kata ga nai ("It can't be helped"). In Hanashiro, opinion seemed much stronger against extra-marital relations and having an illegitimate child. One housewife said that any married woman or single woman who has an illegitimate child is dirty (kitanai). This was not so much a moral condemnation as the notion that she was unclean. Such a woman is spoken to but is not liked. There is also the problem that in the family system there is no place for an illegitimate child, unacknowledged by the father, except to grow up in the household of his mother. There is no public concealment. The village family register has the shiseiji entry for any illegitimate child--and some of them are now very old men.

5 These and the following statements are necessarily qualitative as statistics were not available. Illegitimacy here refers to Okinawan parents. To my knowledge, in these villages, there were no children whose fathers had been members of the occupying force. Some apparent illegitimacy may occur when the marriage is recorded after the birth of a child (a common practice) and the register is not corrected. For this reason, it was difficult to evaluate the illegitimate entries in the family registers.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

The Daily Diet

There is little variation in the basic diet in any of the villages. Among individual families, the chief difference is in the proportion of sweet potatoes to rice; this depends on economic status and the possession of rice fields, the poorer the family, the greater the reliance on the sweet potato. Except for seasonal foods, the diet is uniform throughout the year. Neither is there much variation in the three meals. The basic foods are:

For breakfast: A soup made out of hot water and bean paste, perhaps with bits of fish or meat added, sweet potatoes, and tea.

For lunch: Rice or sweet potatoes, raw, boiled or fried vegetables, and tea.

For dinner: Bean paste soup, rice if possible, or sweet potatoes, bean curd, and tea.

The foods which supplement these basic items are: (1) Fresh fish in season, uncommon for the reasons given in Chapter X. Imported dried sardines and canned fish from Japan are more common in agricultural villages than fresh fish. Even in Hinatogawa, fresh fish is scarce when the catch is light. In summer, the fish is too valuable to eat and only unsold fish is eaten. (2) In Matsuda village, rice and pork are more frequently eaten than in the two southern villages. Rice and pork consumption is indicative of a higher standard of living. Many families have rice twice a day. Beef may be boiled, and with vegetables added, made into a soup. In the winter, the Japanese dish sukiyaki may be eaten, but the meat in this dish is often meagre.

There are many occasional foods or side dishes of which the following are the most common: (1) bean curd (tōfu). This is made at home by women. (2) Taro (sato imo) boiled and eaten as a side dish. (3) A sweet or unsweetened fritter (tenpura). Japanese tenpura usually is shrimp or other fish fried in batter. Okinawan tenpura may or may not have a filling. Frequently the filling is a paste of brown sugar, or a slice of sweet potato. At celebrations, they may have a meat or a fish filler. (4) The rice cake (mochi) made of glutinous rice (mochigome). (5) Buckwheat paste (soba), and (6) noodles (sōmen). These are fairly cheap and are always purchased. (7) Bread (pan). This is a slightly sweetened large bun, normally with a little jam or jelly filler. The bun is baked in the large towns and distributed generally by boys on bicycles to the village stores. (8) Boiled or pickled radishes, boiled pumpkin cut in small squares and served with a piece of fish or meat. (9) Onion tops and spinach boiled with a seasoning of fish, chicken, or beef. (10) Various vegetables in season.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Introduction

The study of religious ideas in Okinawa quickly involves one in a quagmire of beliefs, formal observances, and conventions, of various origins, often grafted on one another, so that it is almost impossible to disentangle them. There is a vagueness among the people, a lack of distinctions among various types of belief, and this makes the analysis even more uncertain and subject to error. When after death, for example, does the deceased become a god (hotoke-sama) in the Buddhist pantheon? At the end of the 49th day when the temporary white tablets are burned and replaced by the permanent red ones? Or at the end of the 33rd year when the dead person is no longer mourned, and the anniversary of his death no longer observed? And is he regarded as a god in the Buddhist pantheon or simply as a god? I was unable to find satisfactory answers to these questions.

Religious beliefs, such as ancestor worship, are closely related to the underlying ideas of the family system. Praying to the ancestors at the god shelf ties Buddhism in with the family system, but worship at the Buddhist alter and the god shelf would, if accepted at its face value, give an erroneous idea of the vitality of Buddhism and the degree to which it has become a religion of the people.

The student of these matters must also make certain that this vagueness and mixing of religious belief is an actuality and does not arise out of faulty comprehension. I became convinced, however, that the vagueness, the compounding of beliefs from different sources, the uncertainty are realities, and this point of view was later reinforced in reading the works of students of an earlier age.

There is a noticeably sharp cleavage in belief between the old and the young, with the dividing line around the age of 55. Furthermore, among the old, it is the women who believe and worship. The old men are much less serious, and, except for the few antiquarians, are much more poorly informed.

2

Contemporary Religious Beliefs

The religious tradition of Okinawa is a feminine one. Women appear in the creation myth as the practitioners of religion. The priestess (noro) system became an institutionalized religion in the early 16th century. From that time until the very recent past, the priestesses have been strong and influential because, for one thing, they had property and the economic power that accompanied its possession. These priestesses have now largely disappeared. But women remain the chief repositories of religious knowledge and belief.

778 796 536 825 One person in front fills in the head and forelegs, another in back provides the rear and hindlegs. The lion, with its human mechanism, is a common sight at festivals and parades. It is a symbol of health and strength worthy of imitation). In the Festival of the Full Moon, during the autumnal equinox, the lion appears again and the whole village participates in prayers before the festivities begin.

778 796 [764] [825] On the 1st and 15th of each lunar month, the headman goes to the place of the guardian god and makes an offering of tea, burns a charcoal stick, and says a prayer. On the 9th day of the 9th lunar month, the village council and the elders assemble before the village burial palanquin (gan), offer prayer at the founder's site and then before the village office where the lion is standing.

Minatogawa. This village has three deity places and various explanations are given for this. Some believe that two of them represent 778 sites of co-founders, a first son, and his younger brother, the second 796 son. The third site is vaguely known as a village god place. It is a small outdoor place of worship on the main village road, with a step and a shelf for charcoal sticks. The founders' sites are located in the center of the settled area, but on different sides of the road. In the site of the second son, there are three stones, shaped like life savers but with a bottom for placing the charcoal sticks, three glasses for tea, and three bottles. The site of the supposed first son, less well kept, has a small altar, four stones, tea cups, and cans for the burning of incense.

778 796 [782] [358] On New Year and at O-Bon, the whole, or substantial portions, of the village pray first at the supposed first son's site, then at the second son's. Prayers are offered also at the roadside deity place. Some of the younger villagers hope that as the older residents die off, the expenses of providing offerings and upkeep for all three can be eliminated and that simpler observances can take place at the roadside shrine. The situation now is complicated by the fact that many people regard themselves as descendants of one or the other co-founder.

778 189 [093] Matsuda. In this village, the founder's site is reached by stairs leading up a hillside. It is in the settled area near a dense growth of trees and shrubs. Close by there is a shed in which the lion skin is kept. In this village the founder's site seemed less important than another religious place, on the main road, in which women of lesser rank in the former priestess system participate in ceremonies. In this village there seems to be less participation by all the people of the village at the place of the guardian or founder deity, and, instead, representatives, like the headman, elders, and the former priestesses [096] conduct the ceremonies at New Year, O-Bon, and at the equinoctial holidays.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

The group sat in a circle. The priestess occupied the highest spot, her female assistants somewhat lower places, and the men, for once, in the lowest position. The priestess, her women and the male entourage held public worship on the 15th day of the 5th, the 15th and 16th day of the 6th, and the 10th day of the 8th lunar months. On these days there were prayers for good crops, for freedom from disasters and typhoon damage. On the 10th day of the 8th month, there were special prayers that neither diseases nor epidemics enter Hatsuda. These three periods may be rest days on which the villagers may assemble at the place where the prayers are being offered. Because there is no priestess, these ceremonies are now conducted by former assistants. The meetings are attended by fewer and fewer people and the ceremonies may disappear altogether.

6

Gods of the Fire, Wells, and Sacred Groves

There are also other forms of worship which still survive. These are (1) the god of fire (hi no kami), (2) spirits of the sea, of wells, springs, and groves, and (3) types of fortune telling which blend into religious belief.

Gods of the Fire. In every Okinawan kitchen, there is a place above the stove or hearth dedicated to the kitchen or the fire god. There is no image or personification of the god. Usually the place is a very small shelf on which charcoal sticks are burned for the god of the hearth. This is done by women exclusively. The women may light the sticks daily, but it is more usual for the housewife to perform the observance on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. This was true of all the villages, and I have never seen a kitchen which lacked a place for the fire god.[7]

Gods of the Well (ido no kami). In Hanashiro, prayers are offered in front of the two public wells on lunar New Year. The whole village does not participate. Two or three older men from each extended family perform the rite. The gods of the well are told that the villagers need water; they are thanked for what they have had, and asked to continue to furnish a plentiful supply.

7 The Shinto god shelf (kamidana) is extremely rare. In my observation, it was present only in the homes of Okinawans who had lived in Japan. One in Hatsuda, located in the first room, had two shelves, on both of which a small urn for burning incense sticks was placed between two flower vases. The place on the left represents the founder, the one on the right, his immediate descendant. The family prays to the Shinto god on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. The husband and wife pray first, followed by the children. A rice offering is placed on the shelf. On it there was a small figurine of the fox god (inari-san) and a mirror, both Shinto symbols.

trees of the sacred grove and used old beliefs to preserve the forests. Formerly it was believed that misfortune would come to him who cut a tree in groves sacred to these gods. If the trees were cut, the god would become angry, the person cutting the tree would be the victim of self-induced illness and by worrying about his deed, gradually would become ill, and perhaps die. These sacred groves, whose religious significance is now almost ignored, are arranged to enclose the village from three directions, with the open side on the south. On the north was the sacred grove in the back (ushiro no utaki) or the grove of the white gold mountain (kinpuku utaki in Okinawan). The mountain gods were supposed to live here. On the west was the grove in front (mae no utaki) on the white silver mountain. This was also known as the fire shrine.

The priestesses also had a hand in this worship of the mountain gods. There are about seven of these places of worship now, and there is still a voluntary caretaker, an old woman with tattooed hands, a family priestess (nigami) in the old system. Occasionally one sees an old woman going to a grove to pray. The only other visitors are the farmers who walk along the paths of the grove on their way to the fields.

7

Other Religious Observances

There are a few other observations which may have some interest. Old women use patches of grass or knotted rice straw to ward off the spirits on days when they are thought to be abroad in great numbers. At the festival of the autumnal equinox, knotted or braided grass (shiba) is placed in various parts of the house. In some houses, bunches are suspended from the cross beams, perhaps three or four bunches to the side. They may be placed in the toilet, at the entrance to the house compound, on the water barrel in the kitchen, on the front and back of fishing boats, or in the interior of the house. Blades of miscanthus grass may be tied around the neck of a bean paste jug (misogami). Spirits, plentiful at this time, are frightened away by the patches of grass and will not enter. The young, while not believing in this, acquiesce to avoid making the old angry.

When a death anniversary is being celebrated, there may be a blade of miscanthus, a rice straw, or a knotted blade of grass on the top of a box of candies or sweet meats to prevent the intrusion of evil spirits. A blade of grass (the san) is occasionally tied around the handle of a tea pot. For the first week after a family death, tea is served from a pot which has this blade of grass. But these are almost invariably the observances of the old and are only infrequently seen. These customs, observed in Hinatogawa, are said to survive among the very old in the other villages.

In Matsuda, a rice rope (shimenawa) was observed at one home. The rice rope, a Shinto symbol, is not common in Okinawan culture. This

789 824 283 [193] rope was hung across the entrance of the family compound two times a year, on the 9th day of the 8th month, and on the 8th day of the 12th month. Along the rope, there were knotted blades of grass, also the san plant. The purpose is to frighten away evil spirits and evil doers. One peculiarity of this twisted rice rope is that it is made in a different manner from the ordinary rope. The usual rope is a twist made by rolling the fibre between the palms to the right or away from the body. In this special rope, the roll is reversed and is to the left or toward the body. It is difficult for a person already skilled in the regular method. This villager told of going to two noro priestesses in the village of Yabu who specialized in teaching this method of making ropes. The husband and the wife received instruction, paying about ¥40 for it because the wife believed in the efficacy of the practice. Each year at the proper times, the husband now makes the special rope himself.

787 791 184 Some fortune telling practices shade into religious beliefs, just as religious customs have also included soothsaying and divination. The noros and the Buddhist priests formerly practiced some fortune telling. There were no fortune tellers in any of the villages studied, but villagers occasionally consult them. Here, too, the patronage comes largely from the old and from the women. Younger people, if they know about them, regard these practices as superstitions unworthy of belief. The word meishin (superstition) is frequently heard among the young in describing customs and beliefs of the old. The sign of the fortune teller (sanjinsō) is the Chinese character for three written three times. These characters are said to signify the three states of existence, pre-natal, the present, and the afterlife, on all of which the fortune teller is well versed. Those in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa who wish to consult a fortune teller go to Itoman; those in Matsuda go to Nago. The cost is usually from ¥40-50 a visit. Typical reasons for a consultation with a fortune teller are: (1) to find out if an ill person will become well, (2) among the fishermen, to find out if the fishermen will return when an unexpected storm has arisen, (3) to discover if a present unhappiness has been caused by the evil deed of an ancestor and if this can be corrected, and (4) to find out the lucky days for such undertakings as marriages, building a house, or beginning new phases of construction.

791 [212]

782 774 Old women may utter a prayer on seeing a child fall, fearing that the child's spirit might escape because of surprise or fright. (This was observed in Hinatogawa).

778 In Matsuda, there were shelves for burning charcoal sticks in some of the numerous caves in the area. The nature of the worship could not be ascertained, but they may be offerings to deities of the cave.

514 796 782 778 Worship and prayers in the toilet seem to have completely disappeared. There were no personified toilet gods. The toilet apparently was the place in which thanks were given that a place for excrement had been provided. In all the villages, it was said to be an old belief which has now died out. There was no shelf or special place of worship in the Toilet.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

system and by the public life which they lead. There is a blending and shading of the private life of the home with the public life of the lanes, the shops, and the homes of others. The process is so subtle that one can live among them and be unaware of it. But children do more than grow up. They grow and reach maturity impressed with their duties and obligations. It is this cultural environment, rather than single element explanations such as breast feeding, which in my opinion accounts for the politeness, the essential gentleness, and the sense of security of the people. These characteristics can best be understood by knowing history, by knowing how people live within a family, how families live together, what these groups of families do to their arable land, their plants, their stones, their trees, and their forested and wild land, and how the private life of an individual or a family blends in with the wider public experience of the community.

The recent war has been a powerful agent of cultural change in Okinawa. The destruction of the south, the comparative well-being of the north have equalized the roles of the two great divisions of the island, and the north is no longer a rustic hinterland. The years of military service in the Japanese army interfered with the transmission of the traditional culture from the old to the young. One of the striking aspects is the differences in types of information possessed by the old and the young. Men fifty years or over speak of things of which younger men and women have never heard. What is part of one man's culture is foreign to the other.

Before the war success in transmitting the traditional culture to the young depended to a great extent on the hierarchy of the family system and its scale of values. Women were subordinated to men and the younger deferred to the elder. Obedience of children and acknowledgment of parental leadership were said to characterize the pre-war society. In many ways, all these things still do. But there are indications of a growing dependence of the older on the advice and knowledge of the young.

The war and its aftermath produced conditions favorable to the leadership of younger people, especially younger men. It was easy for them to drive trucks. It was no chore to become acquainted with Americans and adapt themselves to their ways. They could learn, and comprehend more easily, some of the Western concepts implicit in governmental change. A twenty year old is not impressed with skill at typing. A sixty year old person looks upon this skill with a certain wonder.

The destruction of pre-war housing and its replacement by inferior makeshift housing have had an unsettling effect on village life. Sleeping habits and living arrangements were disrupted. The destruction even affected the use of rainwater coming from the drains on the tile roofs. It converted villages with their houses and an occasional garden into a camp-like atmosphere.

The post-war repatriation often brought to villagers a more personal awareness of the outside world. Those who returned, especially from the non-Oriental countries, created an atmosphere congenial to change.

In the post-war period also roads have increased, and they have been widened. More vehicles are on the roads. One can travel through the villages of Okinawa over widened roads which before the war probably differed little from those described by Captain Hall in 1816 and by his grandson Basil Hall Chamberlain in 1895. This extension of the highway system has increased the mobility of Okinawans. Perhaps ultimately the cultural differences among villages will give way to wider uniformity induced by these innovations.

There is something enthralling in reading the chapters on "Lew Chew" in Francis Hawks' Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan, which he compiled from the notes and journals of Commodore Perry, and the pages of Bayard Taylor's work, along with Okinawa, The Last Battle, which the Historical Division of the Department of the Army published in 1948. These give some measure of the change that has been brought about not only in the Great Loo Choo but in the world.

It has been my purpose here to tell part of the remaining, the contemporary story of the people whose islands early ethnologists were so fond of referring to as an anthropological museum.

The End

home country. Nevertheless, many aspects of Okinawan life still suggest an earlier phase in which independent developments gave the islands their own particular culture.

The Okinawan people, approximately 655,000 as counted in 1954, live in an area of about 454 square miles. Their major economic activities have traditionally been agriculture and fishing. In 1945 a long, peaceful existence was brought to an abrupt end during the final battles of World War II in the Pacific. As a result of world conditions Okinawans have been placed under American administration for an indefinite period of time. Today large numbers of men—and some women—find employment as unskilled and semiskilled laborers with the American forces. Gradual training for highly skilled jobs widens these opportunities for employment. Indirectly Okinawan life is influenced by Americans through stimulation of trade, building, and improved health conditions. Land requirements of the American forces in some areas also have influenced the settlement pattern. While these changes have affected the entire island to some degree, the greatest changes are noticeable in the central part around Naha where American administrative and military personnel are located. The village of Taira in the northern province of Kunigami, where the present study was located, had been subject to relatively few of these postwar changes in 1954. Isolated since earliest times because of mountainous terrain, this part of the island participates, as it probably always did, marginally in cultural influences which affect the center of the island. A great deal of cultural stability has therefore been preserved until the present day.

Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that the population of northern Okinawa is linked with the rest of the island by an efficient communications system. Roads connect almost all settlements in the north with the central island, and a bus transportation system extends its service into the remote areas. But long before all villages were connected by road with the center of Okinawa, people of Kunigami province traveled by foot over the many trails which traverse the mountains, and, since the turn of the century, many have left their home villages. Some went to Japan as laborers; others settled in the Japanese-controlled Islands of the Pacific, and some families joined the numerous Okinawan settlements in South American countries.

LANGUAGE

Taira people are bilingual. Okinawan, which linguists consider a separate language, has many regional dialects, some of which are not

855 ends swinging in the air, and dropping the huge knife in a careless
857 fashion on the floor near her. Suddenly there was the sound of a crying
[285] baby and her eldest girl appeared with the 8-month-old on her back. Unstrapping the baby, the girl plopped her onto her mother's lap. Instinctively the mother pushed the basket, bamboo slats, and knife away as she unbuttoned her blouse to nurse the baby. When the baby had had its fill, the mother called to the little caretaker to come and carry her. The older child called out that she was going to get a drink of water and disappeared around the house. She entered through the back and called to the baby to come. The baby crawled over but was attracted on the way by the big knife. Instantly the mother snatched it away, and the baby started to move toward the sharp pieces of bamboo. In desperation the mother picked up the baby and called crossly to the girl to come immediately. The older child obeyed, and the baby was strapped onto her back. "Now go and play somewhere," instructed the annoyed mother.

855 Another instance of similar nature took place in the frontyard of a
863 place which that day was the scene of "house playing." A grandmother watching the activity decided to let the year-old baby on her back down to join in the play. "Eh, go and play with your older sisters," she smiled and said to the child as she put her gently down on the ground. The child started to crawl over to the group but stopped and sat very quietly staring ahead for a minute. The grandmother, who had disappeared into the house, reappeared. "A-yah!" she exclaimed as she looked down to see the baby scratching the damp earth about her. The baby had urinated and was puddling about so that in that brief instant she had thoroughly soiled herself as well as her clothing. Grumbling and scolding, "Dirty, dirty!" she picked up and carried at arm's length the baby, who was smiling and gurgling. The old woman cleaned the baby at the water barrel and, dressing her in clean clothes, promptly put her on her back again.

855 The only children who were allowed to crawl about were the sons
● 184 of two fishermen. Fishermen's wives, compared to the farmer-woodsmen's wives, have a great deal more leisure time. They buy their
462 potatoes and rice with money from the sale of fish. The men send their catch to the market via the bus, so their wives, except when they accompany a catch to the city, have only to care for the house and a pig and are free to watch their children as they crawl about.

854 In summary, the infancy period is characterized by consistent nur-
155 turance. Mothers, grandmothers, and child baby-tenders are helpful and demonstrative in their affection. That they value such behavior is further evidenced by their conscious teaching of young children to

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

In the houses of first sons there are family altars upon which memorial tablets of family ancestors are placed. Children from these homes are told that their deceased grandfathers are now divine beings and are watching them. In one such family a 4-year-old boy was told by his mother that, since he was naughty, the divine ancestor would punish him. She pointed to the picture of his deceased grandfather and the memorial tablets on the altar. The little boy looked up to the shelf and then to his mother. "That's only a memorial tablet," he said sneeringly.

Not many children are as skeptical as this 4-year-old. A hunchbacked storyteller sometimes comes to Taira. This man is a preacher for a Japanese sect which combines Japanese nationalistic teachings and concepts of proper conduct and healthful living with a belief in a supreme being. He appeals to children and reinforces the belief in the sanctioning power of God. Occasionally a Christian missionary visits the village, and the children look forward to his bible readings, which also reinforce the belief. In addition, the children of the two Christian families help to caution others, warning of divine omnipresence and knowledge.

Shaming and ridicule as techniques of socialization are used to a fair extent. An older child's shortcomings may frequently be compared with a younger's achievements. However, some form of verbal lashing is usually accompanied by direct physical punishment, whether it be merely a slap on the buttocks, a crack on the head, or a whipping.

Several mothers summed up their flexibility in handling their children by saying, "I have so many children and it seems that each one is different in some way. For some children one thing works and for others you have to think of other ways. You cannot scold this one because she is so sensitive. The boy you cannot scold because he would get so angry he would not be able to understand the wrong he did."

Nevertheless, it is important to point out that mothers in Taira, for the most part, do not spend as much time with their children as do their counterparts in a more wealthy village. Their work day is long and strenuous. They return home exhausted and impatient. During the long rainy spells, when work in the fields and mountains is impossible, mothers have to stay home more often than usual. At such times they manifest an irritability with respect to the numerous demands children make upon them that can be attributed partly to the fact that their long absence from home during a normal work day makes them forget children's cravings for attention; the loss of income during bad weather just increases their impatience.

• 184

[For information on inter-community differences, see Category 621.]

A munchu was made up of a number of households or families united through the male line, descended from a common ancestor, and sharing a common tomb. Village endogamy was an obligatory marriage practice and violations did not pass unpunished; in addition kin group endogamy was a preferred practice, though not necessarily an obligatory one. Intervillage contacts and ties, consequently, were held to a minimum. These customs were followed by the majority of the oldest generation now living, and even today such practices tend to persist in rural areas. A survey in Kanegusuku revealed that fifty percent of the marriages were between members of the same kin group and sixty-six percent of the marriages were between residents of the same village. Such practices, to be sure, are breaking down, and this becomes evident when the above data are analyzed on an age basis, but in view of the fact that these customs still prevail, though to a more limited extent than formerly, it is not surprising that so considerable a diversity of dialects should also be preserved.

Another facet of Okinawan dialect geography is the occurrence of small speech-islands exhibiting dialects distinct from those of the surrounding areas. These are the so called yaadui settlements founded during the 18th and 19th centuries by migrants from the Naha-Shuri area; the newcomers were usually the younger sons of gentry families seeking their livelihood in the country. Such settlements not only enjoyed a political independence from the larger surrounding communities but also were never incorporated into the formal religious system centering on the nuru priestess and unifying the rural areas. These factors together with previously-mentioned marriage practices enabled such settlements to preserve their identity. Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son serves as a good example of this type of village, having been settled seven generations ago by the younger sons of gentry families residing in Naha and Shuri. The larger neighboring villages never absorbed Kitazato, and to this day it preserves a dialect quite distinct from theirs. The most notable contrast between them centers on the p and h sounds in the two dialects, for all p sounds of nearby Gushiken are rendered h in Kitazato; thus, the word for "fire" is pi in the dialect of the former and hi in the latter's.

Undoubtedly this dialectic diversity is decreasing as the old customs die out and the isolation of the village disappears. The war uprooted many communities and scattered their inhabitants about the island, and nearly all villages now have a number of families new to the village since the war. New communities like the entertainment center of Koza have no characteristic dialect of their own, containing as they do a heterogeneous population recruited from all parts of the Ryukyus. The vast improvements in roads and transportation services since the end of the war have given the people a mobility undreamed of in the prewar period and have done much to destroy the isolation of the rural areas.

"Uchinaaguchi" Okinawans call their dialect uchinaaguchi and themselves uchinaanchu. The terms 'Okinawago', Japanese for Okinawan language, and 'hōgen', Japanese for dialect, are also in common usage though the latter term is resented by some who feel that it carries the connotation "rustic". Today all Okinawan speech contains many loan words from Japanese; this obtains for those who know no Japanese as well as for those who are bilingual. Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has

But it is significant that the several lists collected are identical in structure, that is, they all classify relatives in the same way. Also, everywhere some Japanese terms are replacing some Okinawan terms. I shall describe the Okinawan system unchanged first and then indicate what the recent changes have been.

As in many kinship systems there is a distinction between terms used primarily in referring to relatives and terms used primarily in addressing them. And as in many societies terms of address are used for all persons older than the speaker, for unrelated persons as well as for relatives. The terms that are used in reference only, never or seldom as terms of address, are terms corresponding to each of the following: parent, child, grandparent, grandchild, uncle, aunt, sibling's child (that is, meaning both "nephew" and niece"), brother, sister, cousin. In addition there are two terms meaning "older" and "younger" and a series of terms meaning "first son", "second son", "third son", etc., which combined with the word for "woman" gives a series meaning "first daughter", "second daughter", etc. Another group of terms is used both in address and in reference, but is probably primarily terms of address; these are in address extended to non-kin, but in their basic meaning they correspond to each of the following: grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, uncle, aunt (these last two are different from those given above), older brother, older sister. To see how these terms are used let us look at each generation in turn.

The terms "grandfather" and "grandmother" are used in addressing one's parents' parents and also in addressing their brothers and sisters, that is, one's great uncles and great aunts and also non-relatives of the same generation as one's grandparents or older. (The term given above as "grandparent" is restricted to actual relatives; its basic meaning is said to be "parent's parent" but in common usage it is extended to mean ancestors above the grandparents' generation as well.) Within the brothers and sisters of one's grandparents the members of each family are further distinguished by relative age. The oldest of several brothers is "big grandfather" and the youngest "little grandfather". Women classified as "grandmothers" are similarly distinguished. These distinguishing terms may also be used in reference. Non-relatives may also be referred to by such terms as "the grandfather of such-and-such a house", using the "yagō" (house name).

The terms for relatives in the parents' generation are likewise extended. Although there are both terms of reference for uncle and aunt and terms of address, the terms "father" and "mother" are (or were) frequently used when addressing the brothers and sisters of both parents and their spouses. And as with the grandparent terms, one's father's oldest brother and mother's oldest brother are both called "big father" and their oldest sisters "big mother". The wife of a "big father" is also a "big mother" and so forth. On the other hand, a parent's youngest brother and youngest sister are called "little uncle" and "little aunt", rather than "little father" or "little mother". The terms "uncle" and "aunt" are also extended to non-kin, as polite titles of address.

By combining the terms "older" and "younger" with "brother" and "sister", one can express the equivalent of the four Japanese sibling terms,

858 children to be "little people". From this viewpoint the Okinawans appear to
171 regard children as being not yet quite human. Okinawan children can observe, overtly or covertly, probably a good deal more of adult life than American children can observe and Okinawan adults discuss matters in front of children that American adults would not discuss before children, yet the Okinawan adult appears to expect his children to understand far less of what is done or said than the American does. To illustrate, an Okinawan grandmother may discuss a three-year old's illegitimate origin in its presence, tease it to the point of tears by offering to give it away to the passing American, and then say nothing when it wantonly snatches and breaks something of value. The American is likely to regard the talking as a possible cause of complexes, the teasing as downright cruel, and the tolerance as intolerable lack of discipline.

Small children are free to observe all that goes on in the house and yard during their waking hours. They are not subject to any rules determining when they are to go to bed. There is hardly a formal gathering into which they cannot insinuate themselves for hand-outs. They are taken to the theatre, where they may have to be shooed off the stage by the actors themselves.
864 The only aspect of life that seems to be deliberately withheld from them is
858 sex. They are told that babies come out of their mothers' knees, and although they may overhear a good deal about the sexual relationships of different people and the difficulties that result from them, they are given no notion of the nature of sex. I will discuss this in more detail under attitudes toward sex.

858 Although children seem bold in actions, they are not bold in speech.
856 As a matter of fact they often do not respond when spoken to and seem unwilling to venture to speak at all. I make this statement not merely on the
• [104] basis of my own experience as an outsider attempting to talk to them; an Okinawan friend also pointed out how different the children in the north were from those of Central and Southern Okinawa---the Northern children answered his questions when he spoke to them. Some of the children's shyness about speaking may be due to the fact that they usually speak Okinawan in the home
[152] and then have to learn Japanese in school. Moreover, they soon learn to feel that Okinawan is inferior to Japanese as a medium of polite or intellectual expression; they may be shy because they fear to speak Okinawan since it is inferior and because they fear to speak Japanese since they cannot speak it well. But I have the impression that children are also often unresponsive when an adult speaks to them in Okinawan and when the language of the answer
868 is not a factor. I believe that there is another factor that is almost in-
171 herent in the nature of both the Japanese and the Okinawan languages. When
198 speaking to children in Japanese, and also very likely when speaking in Okinawan, adults use a different form of speech than the form they use when addressing adults. Somewhat different forms of speech for children are probably used in every society; they do exist in the United States, but never to such a striking extent as in Japanese. Japanese and Okinawan both have a range of verb forms expressing several degrees of politeness or formality, and to some extent there are also levels of vocabulary corresponding to them. In speaking to a child, the adult uses the simplest verb forms, the simplest words, and then speaks not in whole sentences but rather in a series of phrases each

expected to keep to his studies and not merely to avoid the distractions of adult pleasures but actually not to be interested in them. He is given special considerations as a student, a place to study, quiet, and freedom from irksome tasks. This consideration probably varies with the position of the student in the family and with his success as a student. Boys undoubtedly get more consideration than girls, older sons than younger sons---though if an older son has been unable to go on to school and is helping a younger brother go on, the younger brother may get greater consideration and feel greater responsibility. This special treatment lasts as long as the young person is in school or as long as the family can afford not to rely on him for economic assistance. But even the young man in university who is working part time to keep himself in school is expected not to be interested in the sorts of pleasures sought by younger boys who stopped their schooling much earlier.

Today junior high school is compulsory, but the majority of students go no farther. The high schools strictly limit the number of students that they can enroll, so that many junior high graduates who would like to go on to high school are unable to. But whether a youth stops his schooling at junior high school, high school, or later, the change in treatment and attitudes is the same. He "enters society". He is now expected to do an adult's work and contribute to the family's support. At the same time he is expected to spend his evenings with the other young men, drinking, teasing the girls, and staying out half the night---behavior a student would have no interest in, at least in theory.

While a youth is in school he belongs to a students' organization ('gakusseikai'). After he leaves school he is expected to join the youth organization ('Seinenkai'). The present Youth Organization is the successor of the pre-war, Japan-wide organization, less the militarism and jingoism. It is organized on a Ryukyu-wide basis, but local chapters make their own constitutions, statements of aims, and so forth---probably with no great variation. The aims expressed in the constitutions seen could mainly be put under the headings intellectual and moral self-improvement and community uplift. Meetings are held perhaps twice a month, one being for business and serious discussion, the other for purely social purposes. The social meetings feature music played on the 'shamisen', dancing, and 'awamori'. Among other serious business, in some communities the Youth Organization engages in clean-up or repair projects and hires itself out for farm labor. Where it receives pay, the funds probably generally go toward the expense of the social meetings.

The Youth Organization takes young people of both sexes, but there are usually more men, since women drop out at marriage while men may remain in after marriage if they choose to, until 30, according to one rule. In the country, membership after finishing school is represented as compulsory. In the city, however, the compulsion is lacking and many who are not interested in joining manage to stay out. But in the country few would suggest that anyone had the right not to join. When I asked a past president of the organization in Yamada if everyone joined, he replied to the effect, "Oh yes, all must join, we have a rule." And he proceeded to point out the regulation

If the
584 girl's family is favorably disposed, one or both parties visit a diviner
791 (sanjinsoo, Japanese 'ekisha') to determine the compatibility of the couple (eesoo shirabi). The diviner ostensibly does this by casting horoscopes and drawing lots, but it is likely that he also gives weight to factors known to him or revealed by the persons requesting advice so that if one of the participants has strong objections to the marriage he may find reasons why it should not be. This interpretation is merely an hypothesis, but it seems probably that the decision of the diviner may thus be a useful face-saving device. Possibly for this reason the go-between seems to be of secondary importance.

After the decision has been made to unite the two families in marriage
[593] there may be a formal betrothal ceremony (ubukui). For this the prospective groom's family sends certain gifts including a sum of money to the bride's home. This money, called injoojing, corresponds to the "bride price" of some societies. Its payment is probably the most essential element in the whole procedure, since a small sum is still paid even when other formalities are dispensed with. This payment seals the agreement.

585 The wedding ceremony (niibichi, "drawing the roots") takes place at the groom's house in the evening of a day determined by the diviner. First a party goes from the groom's house to the bride's house with gifts. This party then carries the bride to the groom's house, where they are met by a
[117] welcoming party. In recent times the ceremony at the groom's house has been the Japanese 'sansankudo', exchange of drinks; the original Okinawan ceremony was somewhat different. When this has been completed the bride and groom celebrate separately each with friends and relatives of the same sex. On the following day, or whenever the celebration is over, the couple pays a formal visit to the bride's parents.

This elaborate procedure is not usual at the present time among country
[184] people. In fact, the ceremony may not occur at all; the woman may merely come
[583] to live with the man with little or no formal recognition of the change in status beyond perhaps the payment of a small bride price. The marriage has a legal existence when it is recorded in the 'koseki'. It may not be recorded immediately; often it is recorded only a little before or together with the recording of the birth of the first child. This practice obviates changing the record if the marriage is not successful.

585 But formerly among the gentry of Naha and Shuri the wedding was even
178 more elaborate than the procedure just described. Moreover, after the cere-
565 mony the groom, instead of entertaining his male relatives and friends at
[548] home, took them to a jurinuyaa where for three days and nights they were entertained by the juri with food, drink, music, and sex. I am acquainted with three interpretations explaining why the groom spends his wedding night with a prostitute. The first, that given by an American missionary[1] explains the practice as symbolizing the freedom of the male and demonstrating to the bride that her husband was free to find sexual gratification elsewhere. The second interpretation was one given to me by a man in his thirties, a descendant of the Shuri gentry, and a man with rather "modern" ideas. He said that

[1] The missionary Schwarz, whose work is not presently available to me.

called for 'awamori'. After a few drinks he asked in a fairly serious manner, "Have you bought a woman yet during your stay? You really ought to try an Okinawan woman before you go." His daughter-in-law and two half-grown sons looked on in amusement. The question is not uncommon; on another occasion it was, "Have you tasted Okinawan women?" 931 522

In common talk, and perhaps in feeling, sex seems to be identified almost wholly with prostitution and the sex act with the hiring of a juri. The sight of a seed boar being led across a field evoked the comment, "That pig's a man; he's on his way to buy a woman." Perhaps the above statement should be narrowed down to something like: the pleasurable aspects of sex are identified with prostitution. And sexual pleasure, like the pleasures of eating and drinking, singing and dancing, is something that guests may be treated to. (Hence the concern that the visitor sample all the pleasures that Okinawa offers and a pride in those for which it is famous.) In view of the fact that children grow up hearing about juri and jurinuyaa and associating them with other pleasures before they have any notion of their sexual functions, it is not surprising that when they become adults they display attitudes that are different from those found among Americans. 548 831

Before the war in the Tsuji district of Naha there were about three thousand juri.[1] The district was the center of the social life of the men of the upper classes. Business men, government officials, and teachers were entertained there. No doubt all did not "buy" juri, but sex was one of the principal commodities dispensed there. Also it is unlikely that the average farmer ever went there, but the indications are that he would have if he could have. A man is expected to want these things if he can afford them. The values of the farmer are not likely to be very different from those of the better-off city man. The jurinuyaa has played an important role in Okinawa society in the past and is not likely to disappear very soon. [565] [184]

Maturity and Old Age: Associations Men may continue to belong to the 'Seinenkai' until thirty; women drop out at marriage. The reason that men stay longer may be to give greater continuity to the organization and to provide older members as leaders, but in view of the recreational activities of the organization it seems as likely that the rule is merely a part of the general tendency to give more freedom to men and more responsibility to women. 575 562

Adult Associations ('Seijinkai') are said to exist in some villages but are not of any great importance. Associations formed by persons of the same age ('dōnenkai') also exist. In Japan such organizations are often composed of persons who were in the same class in school[2]; on Okinawa the number of older persons who attended school probably does not permit the formation of very large associations. The tendency among younger persons is not very noticeabe. Younger men may organize 'shōbōkai', volunteer fire brigades; such an organization patrolled the streets of Ishikawa nightly. We did not see any evidence of the persistence of any organizations based on former military service; the Japanese Army Reservists' Association may never have been very active on Okinawa. 575 [171] [368] [179]

1 Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

2 Embree, 1939, p. 163ff.

that a woman can hold office today since the government has made this law, but that they would never permit this to happen. In village elections only household heads are permitted to vote, and in practice only they are eligible for the village offices. If a woman is a household head (and there are eighteen in this category in Kanegusuku) she is allowed to vote, but she would never be considered for any village office. Most women would not want the job if it were available to them, for this is considered a part of the affairs of men and inconsistent with the traditional concept of woman's role of wife and mother. Women are vaguely aware that their legal and political status has altered under the American military administration, and nearly all have heard stories about America where women are said to be very influential, but they are not so sure that what is good for Americans will necessarily work for them.

An exception to the generally inactive role of women in political affairs is found in Okinawan fishing communities. In Itoman and Henza, which derive their living from fishing, shipping, and ferrying, the men are away much of the time, and the women exercise considerably more control over family and financial matters than elsewhere on Okinawa. Itoman women are noted throughout the island for their independence and shrewdness in financial matters, and there is a common saying that an Itoman woman doesn't need a man if she has a house. On Henza Island the lower echelons of the village political hierarchy are completely dominated by women. The five 'hanchō' are women, each heading a political unit of about eight hundred persons, and the forty-one 'kumichō' are also women. Despite this one gets the impression that women are participating in Henza political life in the absence of the men just as they have a larger role in the management of family affairs than the women of farming villages because the absence of their men has made this a practical necessity. To date no woman has been elected to the position of 'kuchō' nor does it seem likely that one will be in the near future. Perhaps this also serves to define more clearly the real nature of the 'hanchō' and 'kumichō' as messengers for the 'kuchō' instead of as administrators, and that positions of real power are still retained by men.

5. The Political Community

The rural village constitutes a political, territorial, and social unit; its membership is bound together by a common cultural heredity and shares a common experience. All the villagers have attended the same schools, cooperated in village projects, participated in community ceremonies and celebrations, and joined the same organizations. The prevailing marriage practice still tends toward endogamy, and in many places they speak a dialect with features distinct from that of their neighbors. National organizations serve to unite the youth, women, and farmers into their respective local groups for common action and benefit. Further integration is assured by practices of reciprocal labor exchange among the households.

The major social institutions of rural Okinawa are the family-kin group and the community. Within the former there exists a strict hierarchy

to take registration seriously until conditions are more stable. The Central Land Office in Naha appears to be almost wholly out of touch with local changes; for example, the extensive land changes subsequently described for Kitazato did not appear to be known or recorded on the maps in that office. 423 647

Taxation of farm lands is a very complex matter. Land assessments are made by the district land office in conjunction with village leaders; consequently, there is not only some variation in grading from 'son' to 'son' but also from village to village within the same 'son'. All land is divided into six categories: 1) rice lands or irrigated fields, 2) farm land or dry fields, 3) grass land or meadow (often erroneously translated as wasteland), 4) forest, 5) house or building land, and 6) miscellaneous, including graves, ponds, etc. It will be noted that only the first two categories are food-producing. The first five categories are sub-divided into grades depending on a variety of factors such as fertility, accessibility, availability of water, etc. In Kami Motobu-son there are sixteen grades of land within the five graded categories; thus, there are five grades of rice land, five grades of dry field, two grades of grass land, two grades of forest land, and two grades of house land. The tax is computed by the tax rate per grade of category times the area in 'tsubo' (1224 'tsubo' equal one acre). In Kami Motobu-son grade one dry fields carry an annual tax of 15 'sen' per tsubo; therefore, at current exchange rates (¥120 equal $1.00) a house would pay a tax of $1.53 (¥183.60) for an acre of this grade one land. 651 423

In regard to the matter of property inheritance there is some dissatisfaction with the present laws on the part of educated Okinawans. They feel that the new Japanese constitution adopted during the American Occupation should also be enacted for the Ryukyus. The constitutional reform which took place in Japan after the war did not apply to the Ryukyus; consequently, Okinawa still operates under the old Japanese civil code except for certain gross inequities which have been corrected by military government proclamation. The new Japanese law holds that all children, regardless of sex or birth order, are entitled to an equal share of the parents' estate. In contrast, the old law, which still obtains on Okinawa, grants the bulk of the estate to the first-born son. Under this law property in reality is held for the family by the first son or household head; it is not his to dispose of as he sees fit. Educated Okinawans who discussed this subject with the author expressed the opinion that the old law was undemocratic in giving emphasis to the family over the individual, and they felt that Okinawa should keep pace with Japan in this respect. It should be emphasized, however, that these persons were not farmers; the latter, most of whom are not too well educated, tend to regard the present laws as just, since the emphasis is on preserving the continuity of the family. A further subdivision of the typical Okinawan farm into still more fragmented plots would do little to improve the prosperity of the rural areas. 428 829 [642] [423] 423 829 184

511 [Kitazato]
621 the houses are the same small, poorly-built structures of thatch and scrap
735 lumber that are found on the beach. By way of contrast, the house which
[342] the author rented in Kanegusuku was the poorest and shabbiest in that vil-
[184] lage; yet, the same house in Kitazato would easily have been the best. Shabby appearances are not limited to houses, for the people too are more poorly dressed than elsewhere on Okinawa.

621 Food Nearly everywhere on Okinawa the authors heard that the peo-
511 ple are eating better today than before the war; such is not the case for
262 Kitazato, and the villagers are most emphatic about this. Potatoes, beans, and other vegetable products form the mainstay of their diet; often times, they say, potatoes are dug up before they are fully mature, so great is the pressure for food. It is the opinion of the local agricultural office that the people are slowly starving to death, and the villagers state that they are always hungry. The local storekeepers say that the people do not have enough money to buy canned foods to supplement their diet. Though Hama is
[226] virtually on the water the villagers do no fishing since the occupation is regarded as a foreign one; however, some shell fish are collected by the women.

621 Exodus of Youth One of the marked features of the village is the
511 general absence of young men and women in the fifteen to twenty-five age
166 group, for as soon as the student completes junior high school, he or she heads for the city seeking employment. A number of the families in the village are said to subsist mainly on the money which their children send back. According to the mayor 61 families have left the village since the end of the war; he feels that if they had not left, things would be much worse. Most of those who left were families containing grown children who could work; the parents in some cases were reluctant to leave, but their children were anxious to leave. A slight decline in military employment in early 1954 resulted in several of these families' returning to the village, and the mayor was apprehensive lest more return.

621 One characteristic of the population of this village which struck
847 the author was the disproportionate number of females to males in the age group under five years. In this group there were 64 males and 33 females, whereas the groups above were more nearly proportionate. Female infanticide has been a common occurrence during times of famine or under conditions of extreme poverty in Japan and China, and the authors heard several stories giving some evidence of it on Okinawa. No factual evidence of any sort was gathered by the author in Kitazato to corroborate this interpretation of the statistics; however, the fact that the permanent resettlement of the village in its present locations took place approximately six years ago in 1948 may lend some credence to this interpretation.

621 Attitude toward Americans The villagers' initial reaction to the
829 presence of the author in the village was one of fear and veiled hostility. Gradually this was overcome, and good rapport was established. During one
[123] of his last visits to the community the author was told, "The first day you were in the village everyone wondered if the military were going to make us move again. No one slept that night." At the same time the villagers are

Although Okinawans occasionally refer to Heaven or the Gods of Heaven (J. 'Ten no kami-sama'; Okinawan U-kami-ganashii, etc.), the concept does not seem to be well defined. The clearest statement heard on the subject was the one just mentioned in connection with the Fire God. Since the dead, or some of them, rise to Heaven, the term "Gods of Heaven" may include them, but there are evidently other greater beings too. These may be identical with the figures of the native origin myth. But aside from a few enthusiasts, mainly local historians and shamans (yuta), few Okinawans seem informed about or concerned with native cosmology, or any other. This may in part be the result of a generation or so of Japanese education with educators attempting to take the Japanese mythology seriously and making Okinawan mythology jibe with it. But it is more likely that this lack of concern with Heaven is due rather to an old tendency common in East Asia to settle matters at the local level without bothering the higher authorities, in dealing with both political problems and spiritual problems.

In the Okinawan universe there are also a few earthly beings with supernatural power. The akamataa is a real species of non-poisonous snake. But it is believed to be able to change itself into a handsome young man, in which form it seduces unwitting young women. One young woman who was seduced is said to have given birth to a whole tubful of baby akamataa.

The kijimunaa is a wholly mythical being but seems to belong more in the natural world. According to some it lives in old trees, but according to others it is a sea-being who lives on fish and shellfish and who will become the helper of a fisherman who makes friends with it. Regardless of habitat, the kijimunaa is believed to approach a sleeping person and sit on his chest, nearly suffocating him and preventing him from crying out. Apparently the being is not dangerous but merely annoying.

Another being that is feared is the tamagai or 'hidama', "fireball". This was described in Yamada as a light that appears at certain times as an omen. However, in a village in Southern Okinawa it is regarded as the cause of fire. Since it is a female being the young men of this village drive it away by forming a procession and marching through the village shouting "Hoo hai!" ("Your vulva's showing.")

The Itoman people speak of the ja or 'ryu', the "dragon". This being lives in the sea or the clouds; its tail is the whirlwind; its feces, if one is fortunate enough to find them; are like coal tar and are a very valuable medicine. Other Okinawans seem to regard this as something only the Itoman people know about.

One more concept is perhaps worth mentioning; this is shiji. Certain places, the sacred hilltop of the village, etc., are said to be shiji-dakasang, "high in shiji", and therefore to be approached with respect. It is also said of persons, especially those believed to be destined to become religious practitioners. The term shiji evidently signifies a sort of supernatural power that adheres to places and people, perhaps like the Oceanian concept "mana". Haring has suggested that the Japanese concept

factors have made possible its resilience. Though the island is small, the Americans and Okinawans tend to be concentrated in their own areas, and the rate of interaction is not so high as mere figures might indicate. Secondly, Okinawan culture is fairly homogeneous, hence unaffected areas tend to sustain other areas which might be disturbed. Thirdly, there remains a strong awareness of cultural identity, much of which is fostered by language, song, theater, dance, and religion. Fourthly, there exists a sense of belonging to a larger national entity, Japan; consequently, there is less feeling of being alone. Fifthly, despite some changes, much the same sort of educational and political systems operate today as before the war; this has provided a considerable degree of continuity. Lastly, the present administration has not been culturally repressive.